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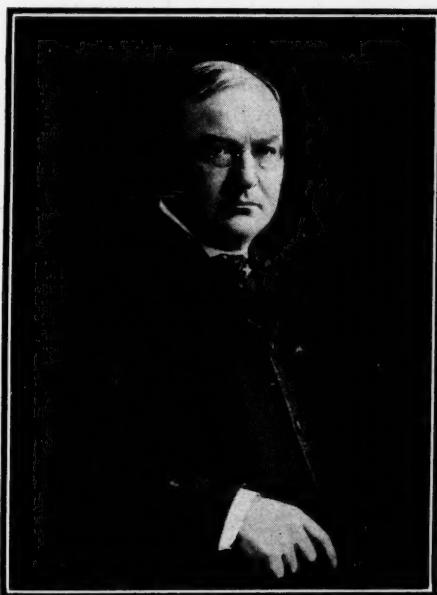
No. 3

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Preparing
for the
Campaign*

Political affairs, as preliminary to the conventions and the fall campaign, have taken no unexpected course. The situation has been as clear as crystal to everybody except professional politicians on the one hand, and those wholly ignorant of politics on the other hand. It ought to have needed no demonstration to convince anyone that the Republicans of the Middle West were strongly progressive in their tendencies. That the California Republicans at their primaries should have

named Hiram Johnson, a Progressive, for their gubernatorial candidate by a large majority, was to have been expected; for the handwriting on the wall was plain. In the State of New York, a Republican victory this fall,—as against a fairly good Democratic ticket,—will be as impossible as a Republican victory in Texas, unless the Republicans nominate a candidate for Governor that the Hughes men and Roosevelt men believe to represent good government and progress in the best sense, and unless such a candidate should be permitted to run on a progressive platform.



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VICE-PRESIDENT SHERMAN

(Who has been named by the New York State Committee, in preference to Colonel Roosevelt, to act as temporary chairman of the Republican Convention in September)

*"Old Guard
Ways and
Means"* The so-called "Old Guard" would seem to have remained in a slight majority in the membership of the New York State Republican Committee. But precisely what happens these days to a member of the "Old Guard" when the people have a chance to get at him, is the thing that happened in the Rochester district to George W. Aldridge when he ran for Congress at the special election in April. At a preliminary meeting on August 16, the State Committee decided that it would not ask Mr. Roosevelt to act as temporary chairman of the convention and deliver a "key-note" speech. It decided instead to ask Vice-President Sherman. This plan was carried through by Messrs. Woodruff, Barnes, Aldridge, Ward, and several other organization leaders, who were said to be acting in close consultation with Vice-President Sherman and with President Taft at Beverly. Mr. Sherman's good qualities and personal popularity are not to be gainsaid. They will not be brought into question in these pages. But the merest tyro in politics knows that if Mr. Sherman were this year running for the

Governorship of New York,—in view of the things he is recently quoted as having said,—he would be beaten by a larger majority than that which he received two years ago when he ran on the Presidential ticket.

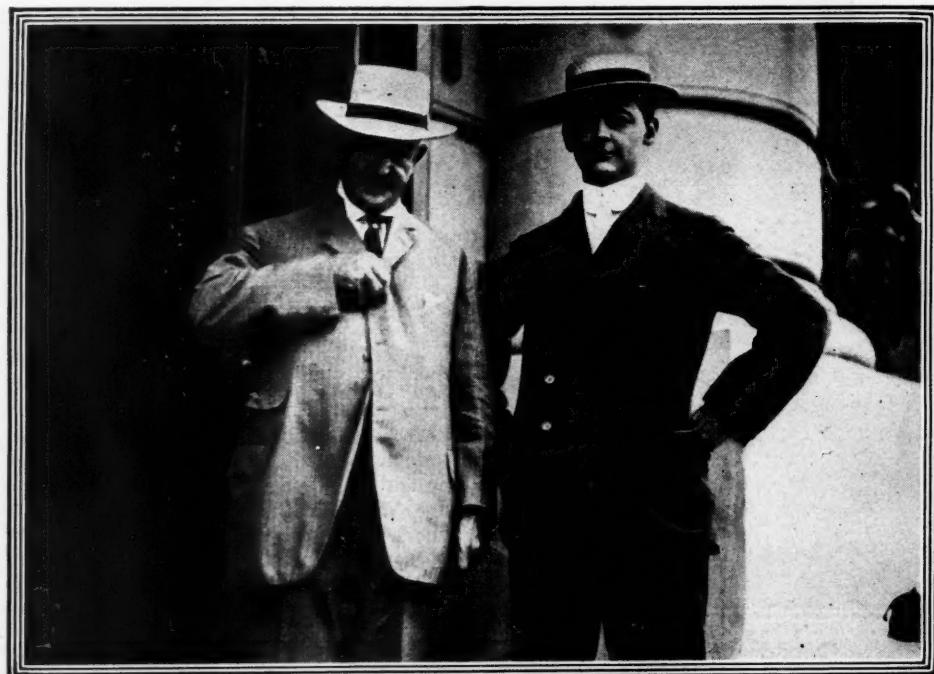
*Who
Advises
Mr. Taft?*

If it is true that the New York "Old Guard" had been taking orders from the summer capital at Beverly, then it is a sad pity that Beverly should be so badly advised. The country, however, must not be in haste to believe that Mr. Taft has been spending his much-needed summer vacation in cementing the bonds that bind him and his political destinies up with the bosses and reactionary groups that are so completely disowned and rejected by the plain masses of Republican voters. Mr. Roosevelt had no ambition to be temporary chairman of the New York convention, yet he would willingly have served in that way if the State Committee had so requested. The "Old Guard" may have its reasons for wishing to see the Republican party in New York defeated at the autumn elections. But it is hard to see why it would be for the interest of Mr. Taft to have his party crushed all along the line after two years of his leadership.

*Party Lines
and
Prospects*

Mr. Taft's own State of Ohio was entirely under his control—in so far as its Republican politics was concerned—at least until very recently; and if Governor Harmon should be victorious there it would seem to be a heavy blow at the administration's prestige. Further than that, Mr. Harmon's victory would probably make him the Democratic candidate for the Presidency—unless, indeed, Mayor Gaynor, recovering from his dangerous wound, should be made the Democratic Governor of New York. There will not be any split in the Republican party; but, on the contrary, there will be harmony. This harmony, however, will rest on the foundation of progressive ideas, put into party platforms by progressive leaders. It is perhaps possible, even yet, for some of those who have hitherto failed to understand this, to compromise with their reactionary and machine-made principles, and climb up into the progressive band-wagon.

*Vacating the
"Seats of the
Mighty"* Meanwhile the political atmosphere is surcharged. In advance of the great Conservation Congress in St. Paul, which convenes on September 5, and which is to be attended by Presi-



Hon. William D. Ward (National Committeeman) Speaker Wadsworth of the Assembly
TWO OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADERS IN NEW YORK WHO LAST MONTH OPPOSED THE PLAN
TO HAVE ROOSEVELT ADDRESS THE STATE CONVENTION



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PRESIDENT TAFT, AS HE APPEARED RECENTLY WHILE MAKING AN ADDRESS

dent Taft, Mr. Roosevelt, and many Governors, there was a widespread rumor that Secretary Ballinger would retire from the Interior Department, seemingly at Mr. Taft's request. We are not to expect, however, a report from the Congressional committee that investigated the Ballinger-Pinchot charges for several months. And there would seem no reason to believe that Mr. Ballinger, who has at all stages had Mr. Taft's highest endorsement, would now be forced out of the administration. Nor is there any reason to believe the rumor that was sent out from Beverly that Senator Aldrich, Speaker Cannon, and one or two other dominant personages, are no longer in the President's good graces. Mr. Aldrich had months ago informed the Senate after the 4th of next March, but would

devote himself to the work of the Monetary Commission. Mr. Cannon, like all other Congressmen, will not be a member of the next House until he has been elected to it and duly sworn in.

Tolerance on Both Sides It is not very likely that the next Speaker will be a Republican. It is quite proper for Mr. Cannon to seek to retain the Speakership if he so desires, but it is probably a mistake to keep any man continuously as Speaker of the House for more than two, or possibly three, Congresses. Surely "Uncle Joe" should not be disappointed if he fails to be made Speaker of five successive Houses. But his home district should elect him, as always. Mr. Tawney, of Minnesota, voted for the Payne-Aldrich tariff, as did most other Republican

Congressmen. It is a very defective tariff; but this is no fault of Mr. Tawney's. His article in this number of the REVIEW, on federal appropriations, is a strong presentation of that subject by the chairman of the House Committee, who certainly ought to be reelected by the broad-minded people of his district. Insurgents ought not to be too narrow-minded. Certainly they ought not to be punished for having preferred to vote against the tariff. But neither ought they to punish a man like Tawney for voting with the bulk of the party. Republican predicaments are numerous and obvious; but the Democrats must not be too elated. Those years have been few and far between when Republican folly succeeded in making the Democrats wise enough to use their chances well.

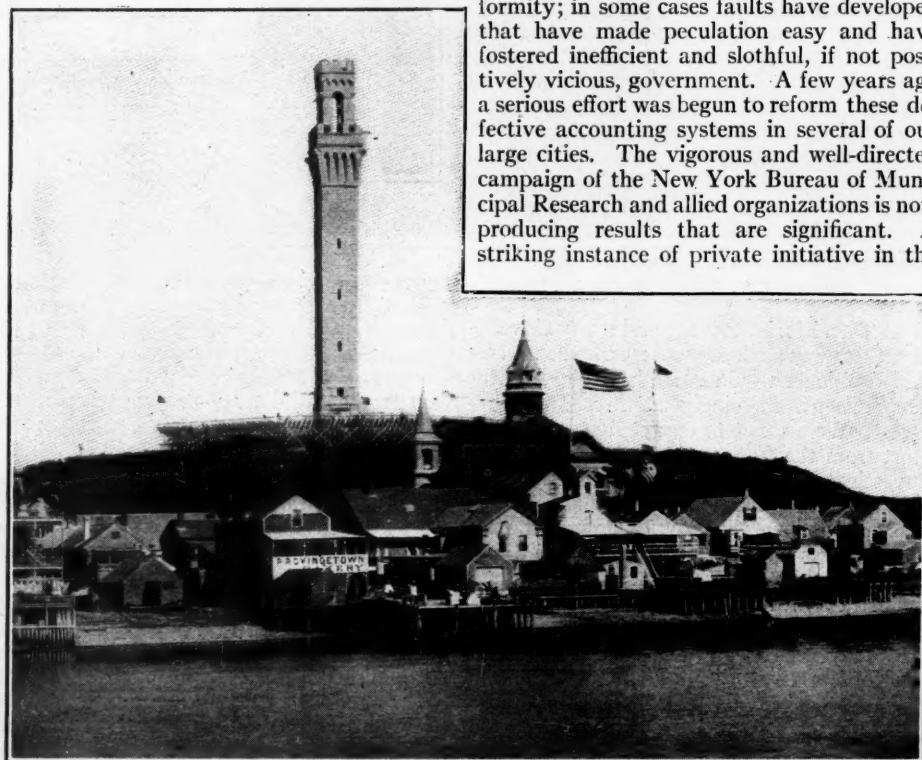
The Monument at Provincetown The summer capital of the United States remained last month in Massachusetts. President Taft spent most of his time at Beverly, making a few brief journeys to neighboring New England points. Most notable of these was his visit to Provincetown, where an imposing

stone monument to the Pilgrims who made their first landing there in November, 1620, was dedicated on August 5. This stately memorial is modeled from the tower known as La Mangia, erected at the side of the Town Hall of Siena, Italy, and described as "the most beautiful and perfect Gothic tower of its own age left in the world to-day." The monument at Provincetown commemorates more than the mere casual landing of the Pilgrim fathers, since it was in the harbor, within the shelter of Long Point, that the famous compact was made in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, and from that first written constitution have come some of the central ideas of American charters and laws from that day to this. The President of the United States, the Governor of Massachusetts, and the senior Senator from that Commonwealth took part in the ceremonies of the dedication, and the occasion was made a memorable one in the history of New England.

*Keeping
the
City's Books*

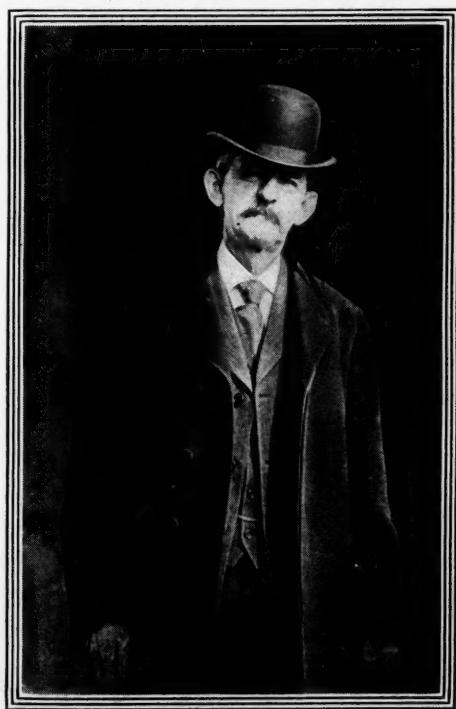
American cities are at last learning how to keep their accounts.

Our municipal bookkeeping methods have always been sadly lacking in uniformity; in some cases faults have developed that have made peculation easy and have fostered inefficient and slothful, if not positively vicious, government. A few years ago a serious effort was begun to reform these defective accounting systems in several of our large cities. The vigorous and well-directed campaign of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research and allied organizations is now producing results that are significant. A striking instance of private initiative in the



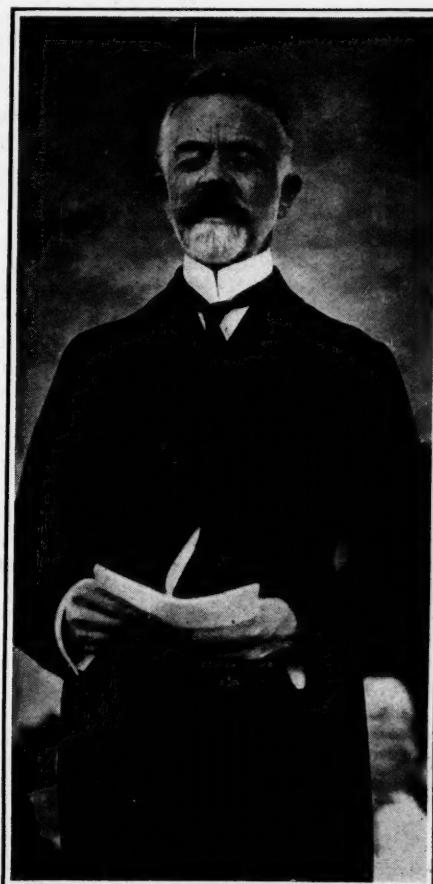
THE PILGRIM'S MONUMENT AT PROVINCETOWN DEDICATED ON AUGUST 5

improvement of municipal business methods is afforded by the gift last month of \$30,000 by ex-Comptroller Herman A. Metz, of New York City, for the purpose of an inquiry that shall "make available to American cities the best principles and practice worked out in municipal accounting and reporting." The gift is to take the form of an annual contribution of \$10,000 for three years, and the money is to be expended under the direction of the Bureau of Municipal Research. With the work and methods of this organization Mr. Metz became familiar during his service as Comptroller. He now believes that it is the agency best fitted to carry out his plans for an investigation and to administer the funds that he so generously devoted to that end. Every city in the country will be helped by such an investigation. The fund seems ample as Mr. Metz states, to "make available to all cities the results of the experience which is being acquired by each." It marks a great advance in the American sense of civic responsibility when an individual citizen comes forward with so practical a plan for the im-



HON. W. MURRAY CRANE, JUNIOR SENATOR
FROM MASSACHUSETTS

(Mr. Crane is now regarded as President Taft's principal political adviser, and he was very prominent in the news from Beverly last month)



Photograph by the American Press Association, N. Y.
SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE, OF MASSACHUSETTS
(From a snapshot taken as he was speaking at the
recent Provincetown celebration)

provement of municipal government and is willing to prove the faith that is in him by substantial drafts on his private fortune.

*New Settlers
in the
South* In this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS there is an account of the efforts put forth by the State of Colorado to attract immigration from all parts of the country. Other Western States are interested in similar propaganda and very recently at least one Southern State, Mississippi, has held an immigration convention and shown a desire to invite both capital and labor from the North and West to develop its rich farming lands. As elsewhere, the Mexican boll weevil has taught Mississippi to give up the one-crop idea and go in for diversified farming. The unskilled negro labor which was able to take care of the cot-

ton crop is hardly equal to the demands made by the new methods in agriculture, and Governor Noel, in addressing the Mississippi convention, emphasized this point and in so doing undoubtedly voiced a growing sentiment on the part of the new South. The States of Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia seem likely to gain many new settlers from the Middle West within the next few months. Indeed, it is asserted that this year's movement will surpass that of last October. At the same time Northerners are buying lands in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Tennessee. The Southern press welcomes this immigration with enthusiasm.

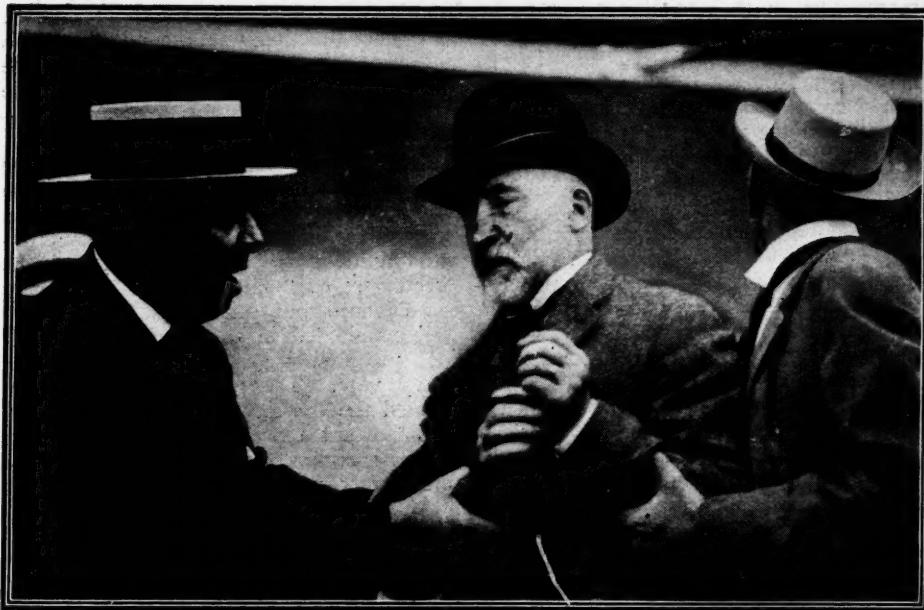
Mayor Gaynor Attacked On the morning of August 9 Mayor Gaynor of New York started on a four weeks' vacation trip to Europe. He boarded the *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse* at the North German Lloyd docks in Hoboken, N. J., and a few minutes before the hour of sailing he stood chatting with a group of friends on the forward deck. In this group, besides several heads of city departments, were President Montt of Chile, and his wife, who had taken passage on the same ship. Suddenly a man approached the

Mayor from behind, and when within two or three feet of him, fired three pistol shots in rapid succession. One of the shots went "wild," another grazed the arm of Mr. William H. Edwards, Street Cleaning Commissioner, while the third entered the back of the Mayor's neck, narrowly missing the jugular vein in its course, and lodged in what the surgeons technically describe as the vault of the pharynx—in other words, directly behind the tonsils. These facts, of course, could only be ascertained by the X-ray examination which took place after the Mayor's removal to the hospital. At the time, it was feared that the wound might prove fatal. The man who had made the cowardly attack was at once overpowered by Commissioner Edwards, assisted by other members of the Mayor's party, and it was learned that he was a discharged employee of the dock department, who had given his superiors much trouble, and who fancied that he had a grievance against the head of the city government. By his dastardly act he had chosen to place himself in the same class with the assassins of Lincoln, Garfield, and McKinley. The public instantly recognized this fact, and intense indignation was expressed everywhere.



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MAYOR GAYNOR AS PHOTOGRAPHED BY THE AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION'S REPRESENTATIVE,
A MOMENT BEFORE THE SHOOTING.



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THE FAMOUS MAYOR AN INSTANT AFTER THE SHOOTING

(This remarkable photograph was made by the American Press Association's representative, whose camera happened to be pointed towards Mayor Gaynor, just as the assassin fired)

**Recovery
Seems
Assured**

Mayor Gaynor was at once removed from the ship to a hospital, where he was put under the best of surgical care. After the X-ray examination had been completed it was decided that immediate removal of the bullet was unnecessary. The Mayor's general condition was excellent, and he continued to improve daily. On the tenth day after the shooting he was able to sit up, and it was felt by the physicians in attendance that all danger from blood poisoning had practically passed. Meanwhile the expressions of sympathy from all parts of the country and from foreign lands were such as have been paralleled on only three occasions in this country, the deaths of our three Presidents who have fallen at the hands of assassins. The tributes of the press showed sincere appreciation of his work. There had been everywhere prompt recognition of the remarkable success that Mr. Gaynor had scored during the seven months during which he had held office. The attention of the whole country had been focused as never before on the administration in New York, and it was known from Maine to California that the removal of the Mayor at this time would have been nothing less than a great calamity to the metropolis, and a most serious setback to the cause of good government in State and nation.

Not often within recent years has a single summer provided such a series of political sensations as were staged during the months of July and August of this present year of grace. State contests within party lines were especially acute, and were watched with interest from



THE NATURAL PRODUCT OF SPOILS POLITICS
From the *Daily News* (Chicago)

afar because of their supposed bearing on national politics, while everyone was looking forward with concern to the election of a new Congress in November. The Ohio Republican convention, late in July, recognized the unrest prevailing within the party, and unequivocally endorsed the Taft administration, while it unreservedly praised the new tariff law and virtually read out of the party all those Republicans who had ventured to criticise it. The Hon. Warren G. Harding was nominated for Governor, and the outcome of the convention was a victory for the "regulars" all along the line. The Republican convention of Iowa, on the other hand, was controlled by Senators Cummins and Dolliver, both vigorous opponents of the Payne-Aldrich tariff, and the platform so adopted was as explicit and positive in its arraignment of the tariff as the Ohio platform had been in its acceptance. The Iowa convention had no candidates to nominate,

that having been done at the primaries. Its whole function was the adoption of a forward platform, a matter of no slight significance this year, as indicating the attitude of the party on national questions.

*Insurgents
Win in
Kansas*

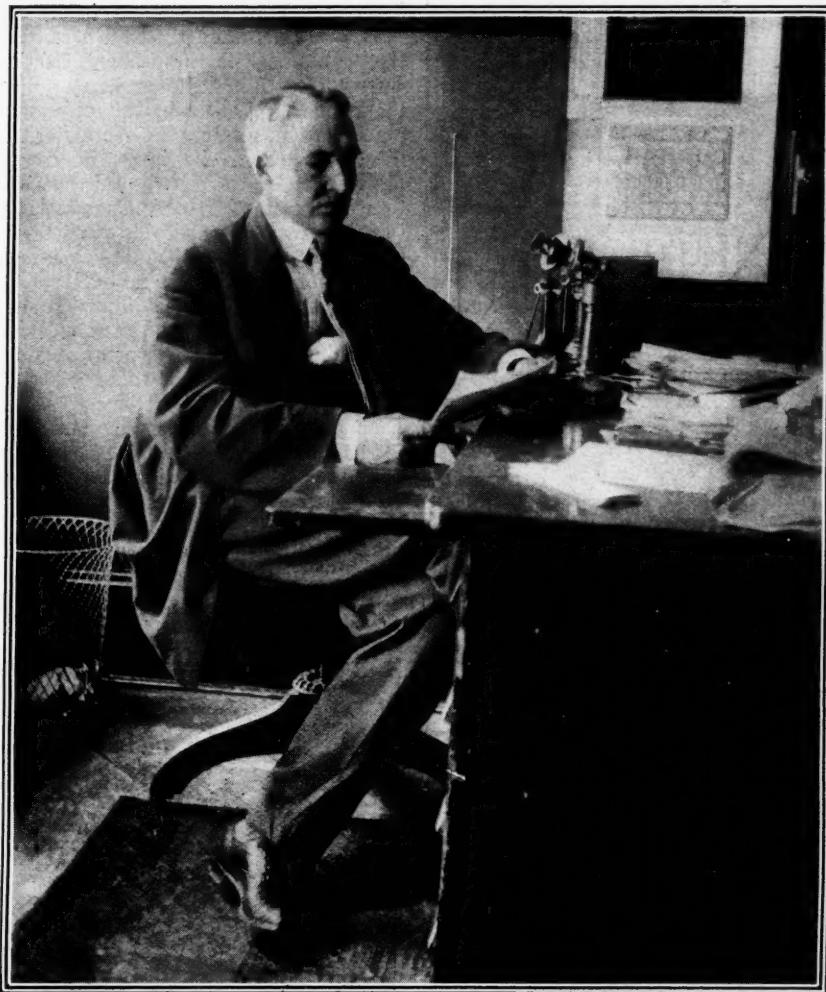
In the Kansas primaries the issue was clearly joined between those Republicans who call themselves progressives, and whom their opponents invariably designate as insurgents, and the "regulars," or "stand-patters." Not only State officers but candidates for Congress were nominated in these primaries, which took place on August 1, and called out a heavy vote. The national party leaders deemed the contest for Congressional seats midsummer, with a view to preventing the nomination of insurgents in place of stand-patters. This effort, however, proved



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SENATOR ALBERT B. CUMMINS, OF IOWA

(Whose views on the tariff prevailed in the State Republican convention last month)



HON. WARREN G. HARDING, THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR OF OHIO

fruitless. In six of the eight districts of the State the Republicans nominated insurgent candidates, making a gain of four seats if the November elections should result in their favor. Governor Stubbs, who was early enlisted in the insurgent cause, made a most successful campaign and was renominated by a larger vote in the primaries than he received two years ago. On the whole, the insurgent triumph in Kansas was as complete as the most ardent adherent of progressive Republicanism could have wished. The fight had been made largely on the tariff issue, and the result can only be interpreted as showing that the Republicans of Kansas are revisionists.

The Pacific Coast In California the result of the primaries held on August 16 appears, on the surface, similar to the result in Kansas, but it can hardly be said that the tariff had anything like the importance as an issue in California that was attached to it in Kansas. The Hon. Hiram Johnson made an aggressive campaign for the governorship nomination and was successful. He was allied throughout the contest with the insurgents, or progressives, but the fight was made rather on State sentiment, always strong in California, undoubtedly played no small part in the nomination of Mr. Johnson. He was effectively



HON. HIRAM JOHNSON, OF CALIFORNIA
(Named by the Republican primaries for Governor)

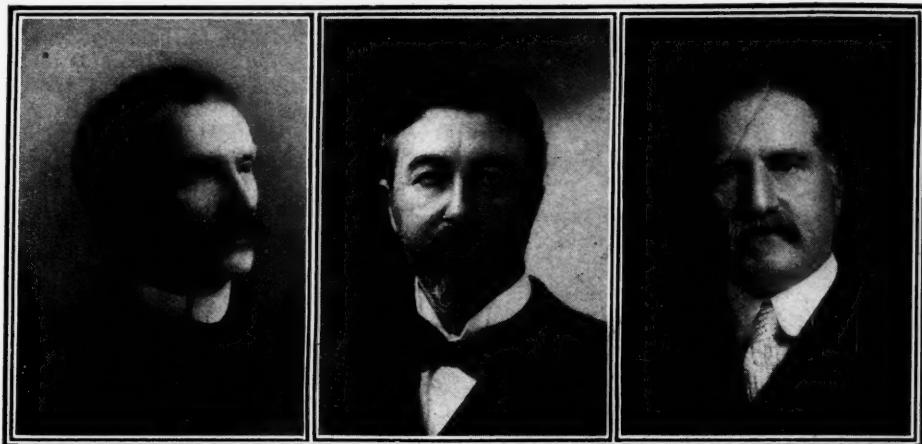
aided also by that wing of the Republican party in the State which is strongly committed to conservation policies. Insurgent candidates were nominated in three of the Congressional districts of the State. Mr. William Kent, the public-spirited donor of the national redwood park near San Francisco, received a decided majority in the Second District over Duncan McKinlay. Judge John D. Works, who had the endorsement of the progressive Republicans, was nominated for United States Senator. In the neighboring State of Oregon strong opposition to what is known as the "Oregon system" of voting on Senatorial candidates has developed within the Republican party. A so-called "Assembly" of 1100 Republicans representing the faction opposed to the "Oregon system" met in July and recommended candidates for the Republican nomination of Representatives in Congress and for various State officers. This faction denies that it is opposed to the direct-primary system *per se*. The "Assembly" Republicans of Oregon lost an able leader in the death of Col. Harvey W. Scott, for nearly fifty years editor of the Portland *Oregonian*, and one of the ablest journalists of the West. His portrait appears as the frontispiece of this number.

*Nebraska
and County
Option*

The Republican insurgents of Nebraska received a serious setback in the primary elections of August 16. United States Senator Burkett, the regular, or "stand-pat," candidate for renomination, received a large majority over C. W. Whedon, the insurgent candidate. Representative Norris, who led the attack in Congress against Speaker Cannon last winter, was renominated in his district without opposition, but in all the other Congressional districts of the State "stand-pat" candidates were nominated. The injection of the county-option issue caused a serious complication in Nebraska State politics, and practically resulted in the downfall of Mr. Bryan from the position of leadership which the Democrats of Nebraska had conceded to him for twenty years. County option was repudiated by the Democratic party of Nebraska, although strongly advocated by Mr. Bryan. In the primaries last month anti-Bryan candidates were successful throughout the State. The Republicans adopted county option as a platform plank. As these pages were closed for the press the results of the August



Photograph by Moffett. Chicago
PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON, OF PRINCETON
(Now a formidable figure in New Jersey politics)



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EX-GOV. EDWARD C. STOKES

EX-GOV. FRANKLIN MURPHY

SENATOR JOHN KEAN

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES FOR THE SENATORSHIP IN NEW JERSEY

primaries were still in doubt, returns not having been received.

The New Jersey Senatorship has not been confined this year to the West. In the State of New Jersey, President Wilson's announcement that he would accept the nomination for Governorship if tendered him by the Democratic party, was followed by a serious effort on the part of the Republican leaders to secure as their candidate a man who would be a dignified and worthy opponent of Dr. Wilson. Late in August the indications were that there would be no lack of candidates when the Republican convention is held, on September 20. Meanwhile the Senatorial contest in New Jersey is approaching an acute stage. Former Governors Stokes and Murphy and Representative Fowler are avowed candidates for the Senatorship who have expressed themselves ready to submit their claims to popular vote, the primaries to be held under a law that was passed while Mr. Stokes was Governor. Senator Kean, who is a candidate for renomination, has declined to take advantage of this law, chiefly on the ground that such action might stir up factional differences among Republican leaders of the State.

Other State Situations The various State campaigns to which we have alluded by no means exhaust the list of tense political situations now confronting the American voter. In Tennessee, for example, the so-called "grandfather clause" amend-

a judiciary election held on August 4 revealed a remarkable split in the Democratic party. The candidates supported by Governor Patterson and nominated by the Democratic primaries were overwhelmingly defeated by the candidates that had been nominated by a convention comprising more than 10,000 Democrats,—the largest gathering of its kind ever held in Tennessee. The victory of the independent judiciary ticket is taken by some close observers as an indication that Governor Patterson, who is a candidate to succeed himself in November, may be defeated by a Republican-Independent coalition. Governor Patterson has won fame beyond the bounds of his State as a pardoner of criminals. During his term of office he has released nearly 1,000 prisoners, including 152 murderers. The Republicans of Tennessee have nominated for the Governorship Capt. Benjamin W. Hooper, of Newport. The Democrats of Texas are sharply divided on the issue of prohibition. By a decisive vote the Hon. Oscar Colquitt, anti-prohibitionist, was nominated for Governor at the primaries in July. At a special session of the Texas Legislature the House passed drastic anti-saloon bills, one of which prohibited the sale of liquors within ten miles of any public school, but all these bills were defeated in the Senate. The Republicans of Texas have nominated J. O. Terrell, of San Antonio, for Governor. The new State of Oklahoma is now committed to the principle of negro disfranchisement. In the primaries of August 2



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SENATOR THOMAS PRYOR GORE

(Whose charges of attempted bribery in connection with the sale of Indian lands have created a profound sensation)

ment to the constitution was carried. This clause is almost a verbatim copy of the North Carolina disfranchisement law. It applies solely to negroes, exempting illiterate whites and Indians. Much complaint has been made in Oklahoma of the methods by which this amendment was carried. The ballots were so printed that much more effort was required to vote against the amendment than to vote for it. The result was that many votes were counted for the amendment which had probably not been so intended.

Senator Gore's Charges Late in July Senator Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma, openly charged in the Senate that, in June last, a bribe had been offered to him to withdraw his opposition to contracts made with Indians of the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes, for the sale of coal and asphalt lands valued at more than \$30,000,000. The government had authorized the sale of these lands. Undoubtedly the Indian Office, if desired, would have managed the sale. There is no reason, however, why the Indians should not employ attorneys to attend to this matter for them, provided they comply with the legal requirement that such contracts are not valid unless approved by the President. A certain law which has constituted itself trustee while the

firm had secured contracts from some 10,000 Indians, to act for them as their representative in the sale of the lands in question for a fee of 10 per cent. Neither President Roosevelt nor President Taft was willing to approve of these contracts (known as the McMurray contracts from the name of the chief attorney). It was this lawyer and his agents whom Senator Gore accused of having attempted to bribe him. The blind representative of Oklahoma in the Senate has been working for months in the interest of the Indians. In January he introduced a resolution providing for a general investigation into the affairs of the Five Nations, and requiring the Attorney-General and the Secretary of the Interior not to confirm any contracts pending the investigation. In May Senator Gore introduced a bill making all contracts relating to money and property owned by the Indians subject to approval by Congress. Then it was, the Senator asserts, that he was approached by the would-be briber to withdraw this bill, or at least, to have it reported unfavorably. Senator Gore further testified that the men who offered him money had mentioned the names of several other men, high in government office, as being interested in the transfer of the lands. Before the investigation committee, the men named by Senator Gore absolutely denied the truth of his charges.

Despoiling the Indians Much has been done in recent years to better the condition of the Indians on the Government reservations in Oklahoma and Indian Territory. While Mr. Leupp was Commissioner of Indian Affairs, a reasonable, progressive and upright policy was developed to guide the future dealings of the national Government with the nation's wards. Mr. Valentine, the present commissioner, has followed the same policy. There remain, however, many weak points in the administration of Indian affairs. In the past, a great deal of injustice has been done to the red man. He is suffering from wrongs to-day. As stated above, a committee of Congress, is at this moment investigating in Oklahoma the question of attorney's fees paid to white lawyers for the sale of Indian lands. The Five Nations (Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks and Seminoles), as the civilized tribes on the Government reservations are known, own a great deal of property. Many of the individual Indians, in fact, are very wealthy. Their property is under control of the Government, approved by the President. A certain law which has constituted itself trustee while the



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MILITIAMEN AND REGULARS PRACTICING MODERN WARFARE AT PINE PLAINS, N. Y., LAST MONTH

Indian is being raised to the status of an independent citizen. Ever since the red man acquired any material possessions, however, he has been subjected to the evil designs of many unscrupulous white men. He has been made the victim of all sorts of dishonest schemes, even violence has been perpetrated on him. During recent years the method has been very often thoroughly dishonest from a moral point of view, while remaining strictly within the letter of the law. The Indian, who has had no experience in business affairs and who knows very little of the true value of his own possessions, is very often cheated when he wishes to dispose of his lands. There will appear in our October number an accurate picture of the Choctaw-Chickasaw land situation as drawn by ex-Commissioner Leupp himself.

Training Future Soldiers General Wood's idea of developing a workable coordination between the regular army and the militia, with benefit to both, was made the subject of a practical test last month. Fifty-five hundred New York militiamen and United States regulars, under command of Major General Frederick D. Grant, were encamped at Pine Plains, N. Y. For nearly a month these men maneuvered, fought sham battles and generally played the art of war. The instruction was given on a different plan from that of the summer of 1909, when the war game was played in Massachusetts and Bos-

ton was "captured" (see this REVIEW for October, 1909). Instead of throwing large bodies of troops against each other as is usual in the mimic battles, more primary tactics were used at Pine Plains. Small units of troops were required to work individually in the sort of formation they would inevitably be compelled to assume in actual modern warfare. The militia were encamped immediately beside the regulars. This gave them a chance to observe every drill, maneuver and action of the professional soldiers. The entire experiment was made for the purpose of giving useful instruction to the militia and showing them as well as the regulars how they could work together. By this means a valuable training-school for soldiers can be built up.

*The
St. Paul
Congress*

The program of the Conservation Congress at St. Paul has been somewhat elaborated since the first announcements were made. The Congress will begin on September 5 and will continue for five days. President Taft will be present and will address the Congress at the opening morning session, and his address will be followed by a conference of Governors. On the following day ex-President Roosevelt will speak on the subject of "National Efficiency." Other speakers at the Congress will be United States Senator Nelson of Minnesota, Francis J. Heney of California, Herbert Knox Smith, Commissioner of Corporations, Senators Dickson of Montana,

Dolliver of Iowa and Beveridge of Indiana, Secretary Wilson of the Department of Agriculture, Chief Forester Graves of the Federal Forestry Service, Director Barrett of the Bureau of American Republics, Dr. W. J. McGee, Mr. James J. Hill, ex-Governor Newton C. Blanchard of Louisiana, ex-Governor Pardee of California, ex-Secretary James R. Garfield, President Gifford Pinchot of the National Conservation Association and Judge Ben. B. Lindsey of the Denver Juvenile Court. This is the second Congress of its kind to be held in the United States, and there is every indication that it will be the most important gathering of the kind that has ever been planned.

*The Forest
and the
Locomotives*

Forest fires have again ravaged large areas in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Montana, Idaho, and Washington, and losses amounting to millions of dollars are reported. That these fires are frequently started by sparks from locomotives is a well-attested fact; yet little is done to prohibit spark-throwing in timbered regions through which railroads run, although it has been shown by ten years' experience in the Adirondack forests of New York State that the substitution of oil-burning for coal-burning locomotives is perfectly feasible and results, where it has been tried, in comparative immunity from disastrous fires, so far as the district traversed by the railroad is concerned. It may be taken by some as an instance of poetic justice that the flames in the Kootenay district of British Columbia swept away costly railroad bridges, but at any rate the interests involved are too vast to permit of further trifling. Some way must be found to prevent the setting of forest fires by locomotive sparks. During the present month there will be a hearing at Deadwood, S. D., in an action brought by the federal government against a railroad corporation for the destruction by fire of more than 1000 acres of valuable timber in the Black Hills national reservation. Of course the carelessness of campers and hunters is another prevalent cause of forest fires. A vigilant patrol of the exposed districts is needed in every State containing a considerable body of forest land. This is already an effective agency in several of the Eastern States. Within the past few weeks the Government at Washington has hurried troops to several of the national forests and Indian reservations of the Northwest to help the forest rangers fight the flames. The conservation congress at St. Paul this month will doubtless make recommendations on the subject.

*An Anxious
Time for the
Railroads*

In this issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, Mr. Samuel O. Dunn presents the arguments of the railroads in support of their claim for an advance in a number of freight rates. The first formal hearing on this question before the Interstate Commerce Commission will be held at New York on September 7. The roads which present their arguments at this session are those in the territory east of the Mississippi and north of the Potomac. The commission will, later, proceed to Chicago and, on August 29, will begin hearings there to examine into the facts concerning the proposed rate increases of the Western roads. The chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission has announced that all interests in the controversy will be heard and considered, the railroads, the shippers, the people and the commission itself. The evidence will be chiefly statistical, and witnesses from all interests represented will be subject to cross examination. Mr. C. C. McCain of the Trunk Line Association has publicly explained that the total result of the proposed rate advances have been very greatly exaggerated. Many opponents of the movement have put as high as \$500,000,000 the aggregate increase in freight payment that would result from the proposed change. Mr. McCain says that the shippers would certainly not be affected to the extent of more than \$50,000,000, and he considers \$30,000,000 a more probable figure. It is an entire mistake, he adds, to calculate on the basis of a general advance of sixteen per cent., as only a part of the numerous freight classifications are involved.

*Some Examples
of Government
Ownership* The traffic officials, especially those of the Western roads, represented their case as quite hopeless if the Commerce Commission refuses the asked-for advance in rates. Some go so far as to say for publication that such a refusal will mean the going out of business as private enterprises of the weaker roads, and the turning over of these properties to the United States Government. Such extreme views are probably largely due to the heat of controversy, but they make interesting the current news concerning the troubles of a number of European state-managed railroads. The Swiss roads owned by the government are, according to American members of the International Railroad Conference at Berne, having a troubled career in spite of scientific management and far-seeing plans that shine by contrast with American methods. The

people of Switzerland are grumbling sorely over a recent increase of railroad wages of 8,000,000 francs; they are opposing a proposed increase of rates, and the life of the Commissioner of Railroads is made a burden by constant demands from this locality or that for better facilities. In Austria there is strong agitation for the return of the railroads to private hands. The Austrian roads are showing a heavy annual deficit year after year, and the service has seriously deteriorated. Extensions of the existing systems have been made by whatever political party was in power to obtain votes, and not to produce profits or to give the best service to the greatest number of people.

Good Earnings for the Railroads It is a surprising and reassuring fact that in the past months of depressed trade, slackening building operations, decreased bank clearings, and slumping in the security markets, the railroads of the United States are showing very handsome gross earnings. This by itself is no legitimate argument for opposing certain advances in rates, for it is undeniable that the expenses of the transportation systems have been markedly increased by the raising of wages; but it is of interest in measuring the reason behind the prevailing industrial pessimism. Gross earnings of the twenty-five leading railways for last January amounted in round figures to \$37,300,000. There has been no month since last February in which the earnings of these same roads fell so low as \$40,000,000 and the figure for July is \$42,000,000. As the highest month's earnings of these roads in the buoyant year 1909 was a little less than \$48,000,000 there is ample room for argument in these figures that general trade conditions cannot yet be considered very bad. There is a constant tendency to spend more for transportation.

Railroad Wages Increased Railroad labor disputes, which as midsummer approached threatened the gravest consequences, were adjusted last month in a way that left everybody in good humor. The 15,000 trainmen and conductors employed on the Pennsylvania's lines east of Pittsburgh, after voting to strike for higher wages, finally came to an agreement, through their committees, with the management of the road by which most of the terms of the recent New York Central award were adopted by the Pennsylvania. A minimum day of ten hours was conceded and twenty-six days' work a month was guaranteed the men. On certain exceptional runs

the Pennsylvania employees had been getting even higher rates of pay than the New York Central award gave for like service, and these higher rates were not disturbed by the agreement. Just as this important settlement was announced a strike was called on the Grand Trunk Railway, a Canadian system having part of its mileage in the United States, and the Central Vermont Railway. Under the Canadian law the differences between the company and its employees had been referred to a board of investigation in March last and after working for three months on the case the board had made an award which was acceptable to the company, but not to the men. Since the acceptance of such an award is not made compulsory by the terms of the law, the strike could not be averted, but early last month, after the men had been out two weeks, a settlement was reached, largely through the efforts of the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, the Minister of Labor. A substantial advance of wages was granted, to date from May 1 of this year. The Central Vermont conductors and trainmen also returned to work.

The Crops Now Assured

After one of the hottest and driest summers of recent years and a record-breaking season of anxiety and rumors concerning the crops of 1910, it now seems sure that the agricultural products of the country will make a very fair showing. Not much could be determined as to the cotton yield until August. The Government report of July 25 gives the condition of the crop as 75 per cent. against 71.9 per cent. at the end of July, 1909, and a ten years' average of 79.4 per cent. The cultivated area this year is the largest ever planted, exceeding by 700,000 acres the next largest planting, in 1908; and by over 7,000,000 acres the planting of 1905. In the latter year the midsummer showed exactly the same condition percentage as in 1910, and there was a crop of 10,700,000 bales. If the autumn brings no disasters, then, it looks as if there would be a total yield, this year, of well over 13,000,000 bales. The largest crop on record was in 1907—13,700,000 bales. Corn, which had earlier promised a yield of over 3,000,000,000 bushels, lost heavily in the drouths of June and July, but still the Agricultural Department hopes for a crop which will rank second in quantity in the record, and which in value will rank first. There will be no records broken in the wheat yield of 1910, but winter wheat has turned out considerably better than was expected, and the quality of the grain in both the spring and winter varieties is of unusual



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HON. FRANK HITCHCOCK, POSTMASTER-GENERAL

excellence. In spite, then, of some disappointments, which include a miserable season for hay, the balance of probabilities is all against 1910 being a year of crop failure.

*The New
Postal Savings
Banks*

It was originally planned that the new postal savings banks should be first established in post offices of the first class. That plan has now been modified and it is announced from Washington that the system is likely to have its first trial in second and third-class offices. There are certain reasons why it might be desirable to start these banks and get them to running smoothly in the smaller towns, rather than in the great cities, where the deposits would probably be much larger, thus increasing the costs of administration to a corresponding degree. It has been proposed that a central clearing house be established in each State for settling all questions connected with the payment of interest and the care of accounts. Without some such arrangement matters of that kind would have to be sent to Washington for determination, and in the case of the more distant States tedious delays would result. In dealings with depositors certificates will be issued in place of the pass-books commonly used in savings banks. These certifi-

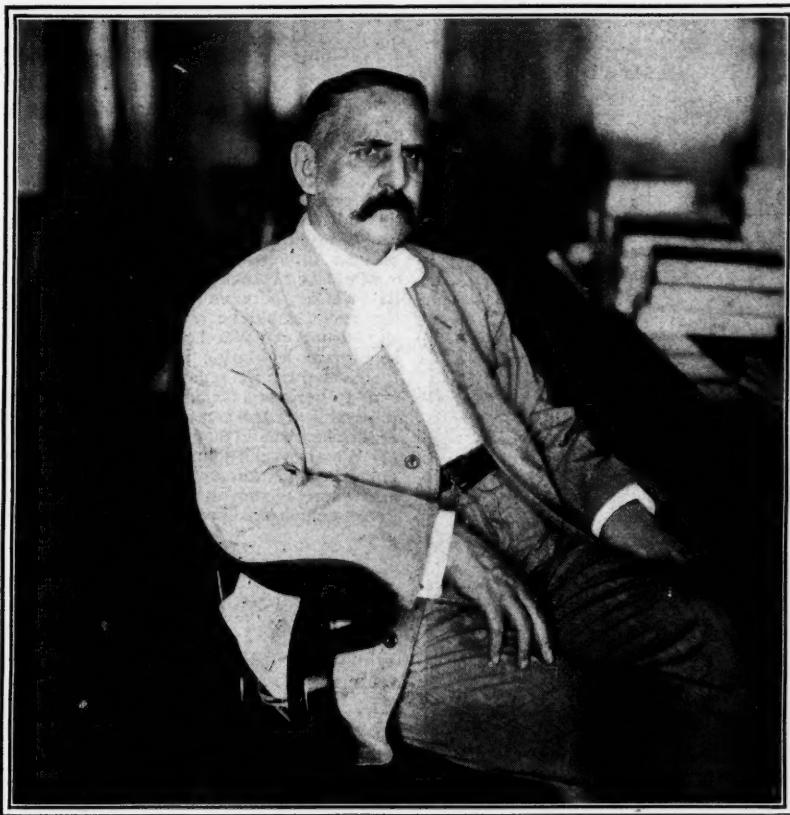
cates will not be transferable and will be issued in denominations of one, ten, twenty, and fifty dollars, the amount of each deposit being punched on the margin, together with the interest due the depositor. It is expected that the first of the new banks will be ready to begin business by the first of November and shortly after that date the system should be in operation throughout the country.

*Post-Office
Efficiency*

There has been in the past more or less skepticism as to the business efficiency of the Post Office Department and part of the opposition to the postal bank scheme was based on the feeling that the department did not have and could not create the proper kind of organization to handle such an undertaking successfully. The large annual deficit was partly accounted for on the ground that wasteful and unbusinesslike methods were retained year after year, to the grave detriment of the service. Whether these charges were well founded or not, it is a fact that Postmaster General Hitchcock managed to reduce the deficit for the last fiscal year by the considerable sum of \$11,500,000 and he now has under way plans for wiping out the remaining deficiency of \$6,000,000 and placing the department on a self-supporting basis. Apparently no change in the rates for second-class matter will be required to accomplish this. Such an outcome would be a fine tribute to Mr. Hitchcock's administrative ability and would go far to reassure that portion of the public which has been led to believe that the head of the Post Office Department was more concerned with the game of politics than with the details of his office. The fact is, of course, that Mr. Hitchcock is a successful organizer and director of the important and complex interests committed to his care.

*The Growing
Federal
Budget*

Now that the national appropriations for the current fiscal year are disposed of, and while the country is preparing to elect another Congress, it may be a good time to review the methods employed by Uncle Sam in making his annual expenditures, and to consider whether a somewhat radical change is not demanded in those methods. Upon one point all are agreed—that the Government's expenditures are increasing at an alarming rate. It seems only yesterday that Congress was sharply criticized when it appropriated a billion dollars to keep the wheels moving for a period of two years; but to-day a billion dollars hardly suffices for a single year. Else-



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HON. JAMES A. TAWNEY OF MINNESOTA

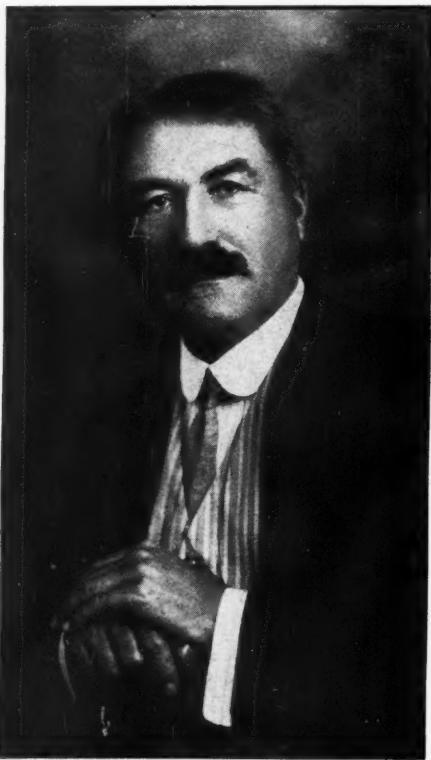
(Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, who writes on Federal Expenditures for this number of the REVIEW)

where in this number of the REVIEW, (page 343) Chairman Tawney of the House Committee on Appropriations discusses some of the causes of this rapid increase, and several of the expeditors that have been proposed as checks

Proposed Remedies
Mr. Tawney is amply qualified to set forth the facts in the situation and to analyze the proper remedies.

No one in the country, at the present time, is more familiar with the actual practice of Congress in regard to appropriations, and probably no one has studied more earnestly the means proposed for relief from the abuses of such practice. Mr. Tawney believes that a part of this increased burden on the national Government is due to the transfer to Washington from the various States of various activities that were originally supposed to be entirely foreign to the federal organization. Then, too, there has been, as we all know, an immense in-

crease in our military expenditures. Still Mr. Tawney finds in the procedure that has grown up in the course of years in Congress itself certain causes which seem to account, to a great extent, for the growing expenditures of recent years. He shows that we have no well articulated budget system, although an important step in that direction has been taken by throwing a part of the responsibility for the annual estimates upon the executive. Then, too, there is no question that the doing away with the so-called deficiency appropriation has saved the Government much money. So far as the organization of the House itself is concerned, Mr. Tawney strongly recommends the concentration of responsibility in one committee instead of dividing it among seven. His arguments in behalf of this reform are well worthy of careful consideration by all members of Congress. Mr. Tawney's services on the Appropriation Committee have been extremely valuable to the country.



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**CHAIRMAN MABEE OF THE CANADIAN
RAILWAY COMMISSION**

(Who has been conferring with Chairman Knapp of the Interstate Commerce Commission on the question of railroad rates between Canada and the United States)

Agreeing with Canada on Railroad Traffic In the course of a speech delivered late in July at Eastport, Maine close to the Canadian border, President Taft gave renewed expression to the desire of his administration for closer trade relations with Canada. At almost the same moment, Sir Wilfred Laurier, the Canadian Premier, in an address at Brandon, Ontario, was discussing Canada's tariff relations with the rest of the world, particularly with Great Britain and the United States. "British preference must stand," said Sir Wilfred. "Canadians are agreed upon that." They are also determined to secure, if possible, a fair, workable treaty with the United States, but "Canadians must follow the American example, and put their own interests first." Early last month the Hon. J. P. Mabee, chief of the Railway Commission of Canada, met in New York Chairman Knapp of the Interstate Commerce Commission, for a conference on the subject of the regulation of railroad

traffic rates between the two countries. While the proceedings of the conference will not be made public until the final report, which will be brought out in a month or two, Chairman Knapp has given out the following as the subjects discussed.

(1) Whether existing legislation in the two countries is adequate for the effective control of through traffic, and whether joint control of such traffic would be mutually advantageous to the business interests of both countries; (2) Whether it would be necessary to the end in view to negotiate a treaty between the two countries, or whether the result could be accomplished by concurrent legislation; (3) Whether under a treaty or such concurrent legislation joint control could be enforced through the separate administrative or judicial authorities in each country respectively, or preferably by the creation of a new joint tribunal in the nature of an international traffic commission; (4) Whether such joint control should include not only through railroad rates and regulations, but also express companies and telegraph and telephone companies operating between the two countries.

*Trade Schools
in the
Dominion*

Canada is making noteworthy advance in trade education. The Royal Commission appointed some months ago to investigate the subject of technical education in the Dominion, began its sessions late in July in Ottawa and at several points in Nova Scotia. The commission is authorized to visit any portion of the world to secure information. It will travel from one end of the country to the other, examining into the needs, the equipment and the industrial methods of the provinces. Then it will visit the technical schools of the United States, and later proceed to Europe. The Dominion has already a number of technical schools of high efficiency, notably in Winnipeg, and at Kingston and Berlin in Ontario. McGill University at Montreal has several excellent engineering schools. Canada also has a number of agricultural institutions that are doing splendid work, among them the Guelph and MacDonald College near Montreal. Nova Scotia, however, is the only one of the provinces that has organized a system of technical schools supported by the state. In this province there are trade schools for miners, for stationary engineers, and for other occupations, including those of fishermen. The province also maintains a technical college of university rank, teaching mining, civil, electrical and mechanical engineering. Already, it is claimed, the efficiency of the mining-school is shown in the low death and accident rate among the miners of Nova Scotia as compared with the rates in other mining communities. It is interest-

ing to note that the appointment of the Royal Commission to make this investigation was urged by both the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and the Dominion Trade and Labor Congress. The chairman of the commission is Dr. James W. Robertson, whose notable contributions to agricultural and industrial education while he was Dominion Commissioner of Agriculture and Dairying, were made familiar to our readers in the REVIEW for November, 1907.

*A Century
of
Mexico* The celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of Mexican independence and the eightieth birthday of General Porfirio Diaz, President of that Republic will be marked by many interesting and picturesque events and exercises in Mexico City. The program, as prepared by the National Centennial Commis-



DR. JAMES WILSON ROBERTSON

(The eminent Canadian authority on agriculture and industrial education, who is chairman of the Royal Commission to investigate technical schools in the Dominion)

sion, covers the entire month of September, with particular emphasis, of course, upon the fifteenth and sixteenth, which are the birthdays, respectively, of the nation and its chief. There will be the dedication of many new public buildings, monuments and parks; a



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THE LATE SEÑOR PEDRO MONTT, PRESIDENT OF CHILE, WHO DIED LAST MONTH

great civic and military parade; a historical pageant; displays of fireworks; theatrical performances and many other features. Particularly significant will be the inauguration of the city's new water works on September 13, by Vice President Corral; the dedication, on September 22, of the new National University by President Diaz; and the laying of the corner stone, on September 23, of the new legislative palace also by President Diaz. All the nations of the world with which Mexico maintains diplomatic relations have been invited to send representatives. A number of the European governments have signified their intention of presenting to Mexico some lasting memorial of the centennial.

*Progressive
Chile* The progressive republic of Chile has completely recovered from the disastrous earthquake which almost destroyed its capital, Santiago, in 1906. Agricultural and trade statistics re-



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AN IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL MEETING AT BEVERLY LAST MONTH

(This photograph was taken during the visit of the late President Montt of Chile to President Taft at Beverly. Mr. Taft and Señor Montt will be recognized in the center of the group. The ladies seated are Mrs. Taft and Señora Montt. Back of President Taft, standing, is Governor Draper, of Massachusetts. Standing at Mr. Taft's right is Secretary Knox, and behind him the President's secretary, Mr. Norton.)

cently collected by the International Bureau of the American Republics indicate this. In railroad building and general commerce there has been a good deal of solid progress. The finances of the republic, however, are not as yet in a wholly satisfactory condition. Complete stability of the currency has not been attained. The late President Pedro Montt, who had been the Chilean chief executive for the past four years, fought hard during his whole term of office for a currency readjustment that would bring Chile into line with the rest of the modern commercial world. The Chilean Congress, however, did not agree with him. The strain of this campaign to swing the national legislature to his point of view, added to the burden of his official duties, told severely on his health. Late in June he embarked on a trip to Europe to consult a German specialist, paying a brief visit to this country on the way. He spent several days in New York last month, and also made a special visit, accompanied by his wife and the official members of his party, to Beverly to pay his respects to President Taft. He died at Bremen, only a few hours after landing from the steamer. Señor Montt was sixty-five years of age. He was a man of engaging personality and a statesman of distinction. As President, he added to the stability and the honorable prestige of his country.

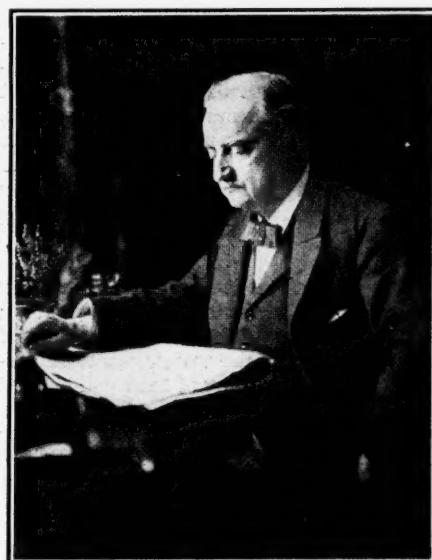
Chile and America Good Friends Now The relations between Chile and the United States have not always been as intimate and cordial as those between our own and the other Latin-American countries. To-day, as Señor Montt remarked in his talk with President Taft, "the people of the United States and the Yankees of South America are really good friends." The only difficulty remaining unsettled between them is the now famous Alsop case. This arose out of claims against Bolivia by American citizens in 1874, involving territory which later became part of Chile. Up to the present, the case has not been settled. The amount in question, however, has been deposited in London by the Chilean government, to be turned over to the United States should King George of England, who has succeeded his father as arbitrator, decide in favor of the American claims. Being a sea country, with fifty-nine ports, and with her business enterprises chiefly concerned in mineral products, Chile is deeply interested in the Panama Canal. Hitherto she has been one of the most remote of South American countries from the United States. When the canal is completed she will be brought days nearer to American ports. The Chilean press, furthermore, is working for the establishment of at least one steamship line between Valparaiso and New York. From Buenos Aires regular

passenger travel is now carried on through the newly opened trans-Andean tunnel. This month Chile will celebrate the centennial of her independence. On the eighteenth an International Agricultural and Industrial Exposition will be opened in the Government Park in Santiago. In connection with this, there will be held an exposition of fine arts, which promises to be of world interest.

Close of the Pan-American Congress. The principal result of the deliberations of the Fourth Pan-American Congress, which was in session at

Buenos Aires from July 12 to August 20, was the unanimous agreement on the part of all the American nations, as represented by their delegates to the Congress, to submit to arbitration all money claims that they are unable to settle amicably by means of diplomacy. The Congress approved a convention regarding literary and artistic copyrights, the terms of which will be made public later. It decided also that the International Bureau of the American Republics shall hereafter be known as the Bureau of the Pan-American Union. This bureau will determine where the next Pan-American Congress is to be held. All the delegates agreed that the question of the extension of the Monroe Doctrine should not be brought up for open discussion, for fear that the susceptibilities of European nations might be wounded. There was developed, however, a sentiment, particularly among the Brazilian and Argentinian delegates, strongly in favor of extending the doctrine to cover such troublesome cases as that of Nicaragua. Trade between the United States and the republics of the southern continent is increasing, and a number of projects are now being pushed for the establishment of new steamship lines. Even to-day, before the completion of the Panama Canal, the republics of South America and Central America are rapidly becoming acquainted with the business men and methods of the Mississippi valley, through New Orleans and the other gulf ports.

The British Parliament adjourns. The British Parliament, the last of King Edward VII and the first of King George V, which adjourned on August 3, left a good record of work done. Its early sessions were marked by much intemperate language, a great deal of excitement over what Englishmen have been calling a constitutional crisis, and threats of all sorts of arbitrary proceedings. In the midst of this turmoil occurred the sudden death of King Edward. This event at



JOHN REDMOND, THE ABLE AND SAGACIOUS LEADER OF THE IRISH GROUP IN THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

once brought about a return to saner, calmer political methods by all parties. King George has helped greatly by the tact and discretion with which he has played his part through all the crowded weeks since his accession. Mr. John Redmond and the Irish party also have shown admirable good taste and restraint. They have earned the goodwill of all parties for their moderation and political skill, and have greatly bettered the chances of Home Rule.

The Budget Passed. The most important achievement of the Parliament just adjourned was undoubtedly the adoption of Chancellor Lloyd-George's bitterly contested budget. The struggle over this, as our readers will remember, brought to a head the long-standing controversy between the Lords and the Commons, and occasioned a dissolution of Parliament and the new elections. This budget, on which the Peers called for the opinion of the country, as well as that for the following year, was passed without difficulty. The dispute over the reorganization of the House of Lords, or at least over the limiting of its veto power, was submitted to a conference committee, representing both great political parties. It was hoped that in this way some sort of compromise could be reached in the matter. From the very nature of the Liberal demands,

however, as we pointed out in these pages

last month, a compromise was impossible. Indeed, on June 29, Premier Asquith publicly announced that the conference had definitely failed to agree on the main points at issue. During the summer recess, however, until Parliament reassembles, on November 15, the committee will hold sessions and endeavor to agree, if not upon a compromise of principles, at least upon methods of dealing with the situation.

A Simpler Coronation Oath

Parliament also enacted into law bills definitely providing for a regency, for the new civil list, and for modification in the wording of the accession oath. The wording of the royal oath at coronation has been changed by mutual agreement. No modification, however, has been made in the emphatic assertion that the British sovereign must always be a Protestant. When King George is crowned next June, he will swear fidelity to his high office in these words:

I do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I am a faithful member of the Protestant Reformed Church as by law established in England, and I will, according to the true intent of the enactments which secure the Protestant Succession to the throne of my realm, uphold and maintain the said enactments to the best of my powers according to law.

That is to say, he will make no offensive references to either Roman Catholics or Non-Conformists. It is worthy of note in this connection, that the change in the accession oath was strongly advocated in the House of Lords by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the highest ecclesiastic in the Anglican Church. All matters which seem likely to provoke opposition and heated debate have been put off by Parliament until the autumn. Among these are the decisions regarding the veto power of the Lords, woman suffrage and Home Rule for Ireland.

Problems Facing the Premier

There will be plenty of troublesome questions for Mr. Asquith to face when Parliament reassembles. Besides the home issues, to which reference has already been made, there are many vexing problems in the larger situation of the empire. For several years India has been seriously disaffected and Sir Charles Hardinge, the new Viceroy, will find a very difficult task before him when he reaches Calcutta in the autumn. Egypt, as Mr. Roosevelt so vigorously pointed out to the world some months ago, is very uneasy. Australia and Canada are drawing further and further away from

the position of colonies to the dignity of well-nigh independent sovereign nations. Finally, there is the nightmare of German industrial and naval expansion which has frightened the British press for a decade. Mr. Asquith will need all his skill and breadth of view to meet these problems, which are more serious than those that ever faced even Gladstone or Salisbury. Unfortunately he is not, as were both of these statesmen, an eminent international personality.

Church and State in Europe

One of the most momentous phases of the present-day advance of liberalism throughout the world is the struggle of governments and peoples to free themselves from the political and economic burden of an established church. It will not be denied by modern secularists and churchmen alike in the countries where church and state are united that, in the long run, not only the state but the church itself would greatly benefit by a separation. The ideal relation between church and state is undoubtedly that which obtains in this country. Here there are no formal nor special contract relations between the two parties, and the Government gives to the property and rights of the church the same protection it gives the property and rights of other associations, with the additional privilege of partial exemption from taxation. In Europe, however, particularly in Latin Europe, quite a different condition obtains. In these countries there is a church organization, a hierarchy, which has survived from the days when the church and the state were literally one. The members of this organization are recognized as quasi-public officials. The organization itself, moreover, is in possession of land, treasure, and other material property and its officials in actual and potential control of a vast deal of human and other machinery for the production of material wealth and the attainment of temporal political power.

Modern Progress vs. Medievalism

The advance of modern education and of liberal ideas in economics and politics demands that the administration of government shall be increasingly responsive and responsible to the people who are governed, with no interference or control by any outside power. All over the continent of Europe public opinion, as expressed in the opinions and the legislative acts of parliaments, demands that sovereign power shall reside in, and only in, the government. How shall the present order of a fealty divided between the home government and

the Holy See at Rome be changed without doing grave injustice to many innocent and worthy persons, violating rights long established by custom and agreement, and throwing upon a cold, unsympathetic world many righteous men and women, who all their lives have been engaged in works of charity and unselfishness? This is the heart of the difficulty facing the governments of those European countries, Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal, that are now engaged in slowly but surely breaking the bonds that have hitherto bound them to the Church of Rome. It is not, as has been often charged, an attack on religion by a godless age. Nowhere throughout the world has the alliance of church and state proven of real, lasting good to either. The idea is now being challenged by progressive thinkers outside the church and by some of the most devoted and loyal souls within. In France, after a conflict of years, the divorce of church and state has been accomplished, and the result is beneficial for both sides. In Italy the church has lost none of its spiritual vitality or efficiency because of the virtual disestablishment.

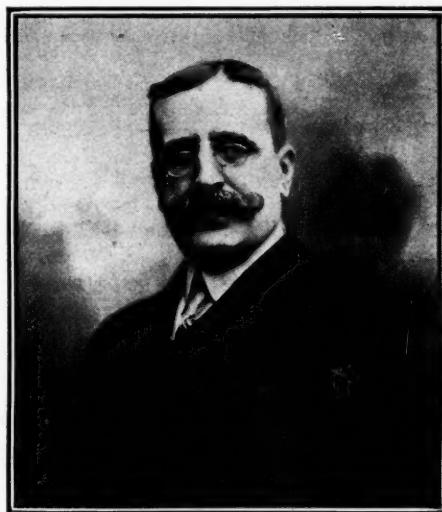
Constitutions and Concordats Now the movement has reached Spain and Portugal. In these, as in the other Latin countries of Europe, the relations between the Roman Catholic authorities and the secular government are regulated by a treaty known as a



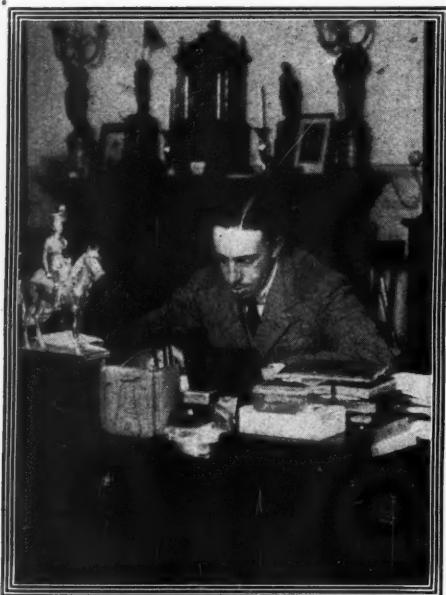
THE ROYAL BOYS OF SPAIN

(Prince Alfonso, the heir, aged 3, and Prince Jaime, aged 2. There is also a princess aged 1 year)

Concordat. Most of these treaties were concluded early in the nineteenth century, when modern constitution-making began in Europe. Then it was that the Roman Catholic Church began to lose its temporal power, and was forced, unhappily and reluctantly, to seek political protection for the material interests it still possessed, to bargain and deal by diplomatic methods with secular governments, often hostile, and sometimes openly anti-Christian. The Concordat between Spain and the Vatican was concluded in 1851. This agreement asserts that the Roman Catholic shall be the state religion of Spain. It provides further for the restoration to the church of all confiscated property that had not been sold when the agreement was made, declares the church's right to acquire property, puts education and the censorship of the press under the supervision of the bishops, provides for a tax to be used for the support of the church (approximately \$8,000,000 is raised annually for this purpose), and limits the number of monastic orders to three. This instrument has been modified in several ways by different national constitutions adopted since 1851. So far as the consent of Rome is concerned, however, it is still binding in its entirety upon the Spanish Government.



THE PROGRESSIVE, COURAGEOUS SPANISH PREMIER
(Señor Don José Canalejas y Mendes, who is conducting a long, hard fight for the complete political and economic modernization of his country)



THE POPULAR SPANISH MONarchs AT THEIR WORKING DESKS

*Cortes
vs.
Concordat*

One of the most important modifications made in the Concordat by Spanish national legislation permits of liberty of worship under certain conditions to dissenting Spaniards, as well as to foreigners. Another makes the press nominally free. A third deals in detail with the number of monastic orders permitted in Spain, and a fourth has permitted the establishment of a few lay schools. These are chiefly in Barcelona, and are accused by clerical sympathizers of teaching principles of atheism and anarchy. It was for maintaining a school charged with spreading such doctrines that Ferrer was executed some months ago. Early last year negotiations were begun between the Spanish Government and the Vatican for a "revision" of the Concordat. The church authorities at Rome, speaking through Cardinal Merry del Val, the Papal Secretary of State, consistently maintained that, until some mutual agreement had been reached, the Spanish Government was bound to fulfil every detail of the Concordat. No matter what the Constitution or Cortes might say, the church contended that nothing could be done in the way of change without the consent of Rome. The government at Madrid, on its part, acknowledged responsibility only to the representatives of the people in parliament. The spirit of nationalism is growing in Spain, as in all other modern

countries. The Spanish parliament, therefore, with the full approval of King Alfonso, has steadily maintained its right and duty to enact such legislation as seems best to it for the economic and social progress of the country, whatever preceding governments may have promised to Rome. To deny this, the Spanish Premier maintains, is to refuse to recognize the very fundamental rights of government.

*The Policy
of
Canalejas*

The present rupture between the Vatican and the Spanish Government is the result, not so much of the efforts of the Premier, Señor Don José Canalejas y Mendes, to secure a revision of the Concordat of 1851, as of his general policy toward clericalism. Some weeks ago the Cardinal Secretary of State protested officially against the decree issued by the Spanish Government, nullifying that clause of the Concordat which forbids non-Roman Catholic sects from displaying in public their emblems of worship. This, as we understand it, is not a vital point with the authorities at Rome. It is not the displaying of the emblems but the language of the edict to which the Vatican objects. Freedom of worship has for years been accorded by the Spanish constitution. The wording of the edict, however, the Vatican contends, denies by implication that the national church of Spain is the Roman Catholic. The real significance of the decree was

its indication that no Concordat or agreement would in the future be accepted by the Spanish Government if it curtailed in any way the liberty of any religious sect.

Influence of the Religious Orders The main issue of the present rupture is the general attitude of Señor Canalejas, in which he is now known to be supported by King Alfonso, toward the religious orders, which at present number 100,000 in a population of 18,000,000. After the friars had withdrawn from the Philippines and the "Congregations" had been expelled from France; the religious societies multiplied rapidly in Spain. The so-called monastic orders are permitted to engage in trade without being taxed like their secular brethren. It is claimed by the Spanish Liberals that the so-called "church factory" competes at an unfair advantage with many of the industries of Spain, which are struggling against great odds. That these orders are excessive in numbers and have undue influence in Spain even the Vatican authorities have admitted in the past. In 1902 the government at Madrid passed a law requiring the registration of all religious associations or orders. This law has been very generally evaded. Soon after Premier Canalejas came into office, last February, he issued, with the King's consent, a decree directing provincial governors to compel the orders to register as required by law. The Spanish bishops protested and carried the matter to the Vatican. In July King Alfonso signed a decree limiting the number of religious associations in Spain, and giving to all denominations an equal position before the law. This decree provided for complete supervision of the religious societies by the state, without consulting the Vatican, and made all authorized orders subject to all the provisions of the law in common with the lay inhabitants of the country. There the matter rests.

Clerical vs. Anti-Clerical During the past few weeks there have been clerical demonstrations at various points in Spain, and counter demonstrations of anti-clerical factions at which some rioting and destruction of property have occurred. A very large public protest which had been planned to take place on Sunday, August 7, at San Sebastian, Spain's summer capital on the Bay of Biscay, was forbidden by the government. The premier, who publicly announced that he did not object to expressions of opinion, no matter how hostile to his own, considered it unsafe to permit the assembling of large numbers of

illiterate and fanatical peasants such as make up, largely, the population of the Biscayan provinces. This would be particularly likely to provoke disorder, since San Sebastian is only a few miles distant from the important mining and manufacturing town of Bilbao, where a strike of serious proportions has been going on for almost two months. The Basque provinces are also the center of the Carlist movement, and religion and politics are apt to be mixed by the Basques. At the last moment the authorities at Rome, fearing a civil war with terrible consequences to the country, directed the local curés to prevent the demonstration. It was asserted by the Paris press last month that the direction of the foreign policy of the Vatican had been taken over temporarily by Cardinal Rampolla, who was Papal Secretary of State for Pope Leo XIII. Cardinal Rampolla has been known to differ radically from Cardinal Merry del Val in the value he places upon conciliation when the Vatican is dealing with governments.

The Spanish Parties and the issue There are three principal factors in the disagreement between the Spanish government and the Church of Rome. The first is King Alfonso XIII, who, although a devout Catholic, is a modern progressive ruler. He and his family are immensely popular with the Spanish people. Alfonso has such complete confidence in the Premier and is in such complete accord with his policies that he has not permitted the present difficulty to interfere with his long-planned trip to England and France. Commenting on the presence of the Spanish King in London at such a juncture in his home affairs the *Telegraph* remarks:

Alfonso XIII will play the part not of a Philip the Second, but the progressive role to be expected of one imbued with the spirit of the twentieth century. . . . He gave a true indication of his disposition when he sought his spouse in a land where liberty, democracy and the sovereignty of the people prevail.

Then there is the national parliament, the Cortes, composed of a progressive Chamber of Deputies, led by Señor Canalejas, the Prime Minister, and a reactionary Senate. Finally, there are the political groups of the Deputies themselves, which give a new Premier to the kingdom with bewildering frequency, and which represent all shades of opinion from extreme ultramontanism to reckless republicanism. With moderate Liberals, such as former Premier Moret, and even the Conservative leader, Maura, supporting him, Canalejas has

at his back the tremendous force of educated, progressive opinion. If all the liberal sections with their indiscriminate names should vote with Canalejas, he ought to be able to carry through his policy when the Cortes begins its sessions next month. That policy represents an attempt to solve upon moderate lines a problem similar though not identical with that with which France has had to deal. There is this difference, of course, that Spain is very much more devoted to the church than France has been for more than a century.

An Economic, Not a Religious, Question

The present issue in both Spain and Portugal is civil rather than religious. Religion, in truth, has nothing to do with either Spanish or Portuguese decadence. What both these peoples need is new blood and new points of view. Some of the Spanish leaders see this. Spain, said Canalejas in a recent interview, has begun to realize that "she is not living in the middle of the last century, and her statesmen are convinced that they must bring their country abreast of the modern spirit. . . . We cannot and will not permit clericalism to prevent this." Spain, says C. Bogue Luffman in his recent work on that country, is "held to Europe solely by the vitalizing stream of commercial people from the north, the English, French and Germans, and if it were possible to reorganize and preserve her public departments by an international commission she would soon vastly improve her status and estate." The situation in Portugal is not so acute as that in Spain. Lisbon's dispute with Rome revolves around the action of Cardinal Merry del Val in suppressing a Portuguese ecclesiastical review for some comment on political matters. This action by the Vatican was regarded by the government at Lisbon as interference in domestic affairs. The difficulty has been increased by the bill recently introduced in the Portuguese parliament by the Minister of Justice, providing for the civil registration of births, deaths and marriages. This has hitherto been an important source of income for the clergy. A complete separation of church and state is not likely for years to come in either Spain or Portugal. But modern government, without dictation from any ecclesiastical authority, seems near at hand in both countries.

Directing French Savings

A striking indication of the extent to which the paternalistic idea has imbedded itself in the French mind and of how useful it may be made to insure economic and financial stability to the

country is furnished by some of the findings of the Rochette investigation commission recently made public. During the past few years in France there have been many cases, some of them acquiring international notoriety, of the defrauding of great numbers of people by unscrupulous persons. It seems easy to take advantage of the French proclivity for speculation. Cautious and frugal as the average Frenchman is, he can usually be induced to engage in some new commercial speculative venture. The Rochette affair was typical. In two years' time this unscrupulous promoter was able to induce small country investors to put more than \$25,000,000 into his ventures, which were all fraudulent. The Parliamentary Commission appointed to investigate the affair found certain serious faults in the system of French judicial procedure. These, it urged, should be corrected. It also even more strongly urged that the government should devise some means for utilizing this willingness of the peasantry to speculate, by directing it to the development of purely French enterprises. Of recent years large numbers of small capitalists, not satisfied with two and a half or three per cent. investments at home, have sought more profitable holdings abroad. This the government is urged to discourage, and the Minister of Finance is called upon to find some safe, domestic outlet for the apparently inexhaustible savings of the French peasant.

The Fisheries Case at The Hague

All the evidence and arguments on both sides of the Newfoundland fisheries case had been presented to The Hague arbitration tribunal by the middle of last month. Sir W. S. Robson, the British Attorney-General, summed up the case for Great Britain, and Hon. John S. Ewart for Canada and Newfoundland. Senator Elihu Root presented the final brief for the United States. In the main the British contention was that of sovereignty extending over territorial waters. The American claim, on the other hand, as set forth in a speech by Senator Root lasting six days, was based on the Treaty of 1818, which "should not be made subject to any power or authority of Great Britain to restrict, modify or affect by subsequent legislation." Mr. Root vigorously denied Great Britain's right to impose any regulations whatsoever on American fishermen. By the terms of the arbitration agreement the court has two months in which to render its decision. It is confidently expected, however, that the judgment will be made public some time during the present month.

*Eighty Years
of
Francis Joseph* The best wishes of the civilized world have gone out to the aged Emperor, Francis Joseph of Austria-Hungary, who, on the eighteenth day of last month, celebrated his eightieth birthday. If he lives until December 2 of the present year, he will have been sixty-two years on the throne of the Dual Monarchy. During that monumentally long reign almost every imaginable calamity has fallen upon him. His realm has been torn by fierce conflicts between the diverse races that make up its population. His armies have been defeated on the field of battle, and he has lost territory. His beautiful and accomplished wife, the Empress Elizabeth, was murdered, and his only son and heir died by his own hand to escape the public shame of a mysterious private scandal. Through it all, Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, has maintained a cheerful, dignified calm and a remarkable tenacity of purpose. He has been, moreover, an example to the crowned heads of Europe for his untiring devotion to duty and for his many private virtues. During the year preceding his eightieth birthday, he had the satisfaction of seeing the prestige of his country greatly increased by the acquiescence of the rest of the continent in the annexation of the two Balkan provinces, Bosnia and Herzegovina. He recently made a visit to these provinces and was loyally received by their inhabitants. He has not been able, it is true, to thoroughly settle the parliamentary difficulties between Vienna and Budapest. Yet his influence has always been in the direction of conciliation to the Hungarians. "If Austria-Hungary did not exist," said a Bohemian statesman, a generation ago, "she would have to be invented." A strong power at Vienna has always been necessary to keep the peace between the jangling and diverse races of southeastern Europe. When that power is wielded by a monarch who is as just and wise as Francis Joseph has been, the entire continent, as well as the peoples of Austria-Hungary and the Balkan states, has reason to join in hoping that the aged monarch may have still more years of life and usefulness.

*Labor
Troubles in
Europe* Labor troubles of proportions affecting the entire nation occurred during the past few weeks in five European countries. All the workers in the shipbuilding concerns in Hamburg, involving a total of 35,000 men, went out on a strike early in August, because the companies refused their demands for increased wages and fewer hours of labor. The shipbuilders, while not denying that the men had some justice in their demands, maintain that these were a cloak for certain political purposes. By the middle of last month, the strike had affected all the German shipyards except the government works. France, which has become a highly socialized state, and which generally has a strike of some sort on its hands, faced no less than five different troubles of this kind during late July and early August. Most of these were among industrial workers in Paris. A strike on the North Eastern Railroad system in England, during late July, was caused, the men claim, by their objection to the "Americanization" of British methods. By this they meant that all employees were required to live up to the standard set by a few abnormally rapid workers. In Holland, a three weeks' lockout, affecting 10,000 workers in almost all the cotton mills of the country, was settled late in August by a compromise over the question of wages. The strike of the Spanish miners in Bilbao and its vicinity has already been referred to. Early in August, a voluntary commission of members of the House of Deputies began to investigate industrial conditions in the Basque provinces with a view to suggesting intervention by the Cortes.

*Growth of the
World Peace
Idea* There could be no better indication of the growth of a fraternal feeling among all the peoples of the civilized world than the increasing frequency with which international conferences are held, and the ever widening scope of the subjects which they consider. This summer has been particularly noteworthy for international gatherings. At Buenos Aires all the nations of the American continents have been for a full month debating subjects of common interest and concern. In the Dutch capital English and American jurists have been submitting to an impartial tribunal their arguments in the matter of the Newfoundland fisheries dispute. For the first five days of last month the International Peace Congress met at Stockholm. This assembly, attended by 600 delegates from all over the world, enthusiastically adopted a resolution urging all governments to follow the lead of the United States in authorizing the President to appoint a commission to study the question of the limitation of armaments. The congress also passed a resolution requesting the United States to convoke a diplomatic conference with the object of proclaiming the inviolability of private property at sea. An-

other international peace association, the Interparliamentary Union, meeting at Brussels on August 20, is now considering, among other important subjects, the American proposition that the International Prize Court at The Hague be invested with the jurisdiction of an international arbitration court.

Other International Gatherings During the first week of last month also, the twenty-sixth convention of the International Law Association assembled in London. The most important subjects considered were divorce, bills of exchange and workmen's compensation as affected by international relations. A resolution was passed favoring the establishment of a school of international law in connection with The Hague Tribunal. At Copenhagen, on August 23, the International Socialist Congress began a week's sessions. Other important world gatherings of the past month were the second International Free Trade Congress at Antwerp, from August 9 to 12, and the eleventh International Congress of Geologists, at Stockholm, from August 18 to 25. The sixth International Congress of Esperantists met at Washington on August 14, at which were present delegates from 40 States and 20 foreign countries. Early in the present month the International Eucharistic Congress, at which there will be delegates from all the Roman Catholic countries of the world, will meet in Montreal. Cardinal Vincenzo Vannutelli will be the Papal legate. On August 29, the International Meeting for Solar Research began a week's convention in the Carnegie Observatory on Mt. Wilson, near Pasadena, California. Finally, the international conference to devise measures to combat the opium evil, originally set for a date early next month, will be postponed until late in October, owing to the inability of China's representatives to be present at the earlier date. The Chinese, however, are deeply interested.

Modern Business in Turkey Very rapidly, and with so little advertising that the rest of the world scarcely realizes it, the modernization of Turkey has been going on ever since the triumph of the Young Turks over Abdul Hamid, a year and a half ago. In political, educational, but particularly in economic reforms, there has been a great deal of progress. We have recorded from time to time in these pages, the betterment of religious, social and financial conditions in Turkey. There is also a very noteworthy advance in general business and in the appli-

cation of modern methods, particularly to the problem of transportation. Through its Consul General in New York, the Ottoman government recently invited bids from Americans for the construction of an electric street railway system in Constantinople and its suburbs. At about the same time, it also granted a concession to several English and American companies for the construction and exclusive operation of telephones in the Turkish capital. The Ministry has approved the preliminary draft of a convention giving to a group of New York capitalists concessions for the construction of about 1,500 miles of railroad with mineral and oil rights in the Asiatic dominions of the Sultan. This convention will go into effect at once, if approved by the Turkish parliament, which meets on November 18. It is known to have the approval of the Sultan and of many of the most progressive political leaders.

*Railroads
Opening Up
Asia Minor*

The railroad system will consist of two trunk lines. One will extend from Samsoon on the Black Sea, in a southeasterly direction to a point near the Persian border. The other will start from some port on the Mediterranean, not yet determined, and stretch in a northeasterly direction to Lake Van, crossing the other line. This region, originally one of the most fertile in the world, needs only irrigation and railroads to make it a most productive and thriving industrial and commercial country. For years it has been realized in Europe that a rich field for commercial exploitation exists in Asiatic Turkey. Capital was ready and waiting, but the Turkish people had not yet been awoken. Now that the old regime, with its bribery and political corruption, has passed away, capital will begin to work. Even before the change, German financiers had begun the construction, under international regulation, of the now famous Bagdad Railway. A Belgian company will, it is reported, have ready to submit to the Turkish parliament, this fall, a plan for building a trolley line in Jerusalem. Already there is a railroad and a telephone line from Constantinople to Mecca. When the Bagdad Railroad and the other lines referred to are completed, Persia will be connected with the Mediterranean Sea, and Nineveh, the ancient capital of Sennacherib, will be a half way station between the reformed kingdom of the Shah and a Palestine which has been quickened to modern life by steel rails, telephones, reaping-machines and American business methods.

*Preparing a
Constitution
for China*

Four years ago an edict was issued by the Dowager Empress of China declaring that the one hope for the future of the Empire lay in the granting of a constitution. In the preceding year a commission had made an extended trip through Europe and the United States studying the political systems of the Western nations. Upon their return, the commissioners memorialized the throne, and this edict of 1906 was the reply to the memorial. A constitution was definitely promised and a tentative outline published of the course to be followed which should lead up, eventually, to the establishment of an Imperial Chinese Parliament. The basis of the constitution was to be found in the various imperial edicts, memorials and collections of rules and regulations. A later edict, in 1908, set forth the general principles of the constitution, and announced that nine years would be devoted to preparing the people for full parliamentary government. Some of the steps required have already been taken successfully. Provincial councils have been assembled, and arrangements made for the summoning of the National Assembly in Peking. This assembly will have but a single chamber, although it will contain the elements of a two-chamber legislature. One-half of its members are to be representatives of the titled classes, the officials of the larger cities and the wealthy land owners. The other half will be chosen from members of the various provincial councils.

*Making
Haste
Slowly*

A number of educational and commercial commissions have left China to tour the world, during the past two or three years, and their influence upon administrative and educational affairs at home is quite evident. The preparatory steps have been taken rather more rapidly than had been anticipated, and the central government is now experiencing some difficulty in restraining the ardor of many of the popular leaders for still more rapid advance. Within the past few months there have been repeated petitions to the throne to advance the date of the granting of the constitution and the opening of the parliament. The Regent, Prince Ch'un, however, has shown himself to be a man of unusual sagacity and statesmanship, and has firmly resisted any attempts to force the situation until the people are fully ready. There is a constitutional party in China which voices its demands very loudly at times. The uneducated and superstitious, however, are still so vastly in the majority that no argument is needed to con-



DUKE K'UNG, LEADER OF THE CHINESE
PROGRESSIVE ARISTOCRATS

(The lineal descendant, of the 76th generation, of Confucius. A tall, strongly made, fine representative aristocrat of the Chinese race, with unbroken lineage extending over 24 centuries. The title is the oldest in the world, and one of the very few in China descending "without diminution" from father to son. Duke K'ung is progressive, and has founded a school at the ancestral home in which English is taught. He resides at Choufou in Shantung, where the Great Teacher lived, taught and lies buried.)

vince the outside world of the wisdom of caution and patience. Step by step, China is making order at home, and asserting her dignity abroad. Replying to the Manchurian convention recently agreed upon between Russia and Japan, the Peking government emphasizes the "disinterested" assurances of its two neighbors made in the Treaty of



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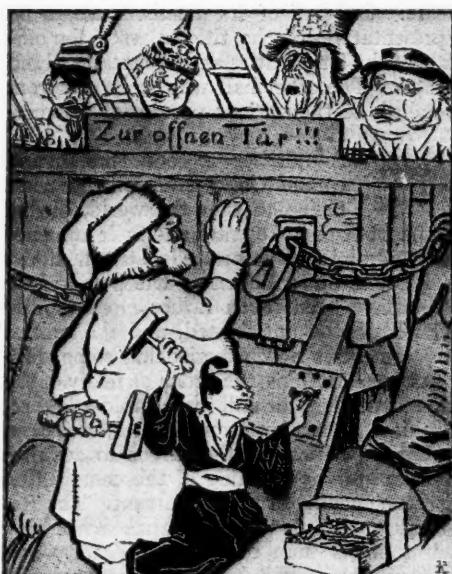
HON. W. CAMERON FORBES, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF
THE PHILIPPINES

Whose deportation of certain "undesirable aliens" has
(been declared legal by the Philippine Supreme Court)

Portsmouth in 1905, and expresses pleasure that the "Open Door" will be maintained. It is significant to note the fact that, only a few days after the Chinese reply was delivered to the Japanese and Russian foreign offices, the government at Peking announced its decision to employ no more foreign diplomatic advisors: "We are able now," says the note, "to conduct our foreign relations ourselves."

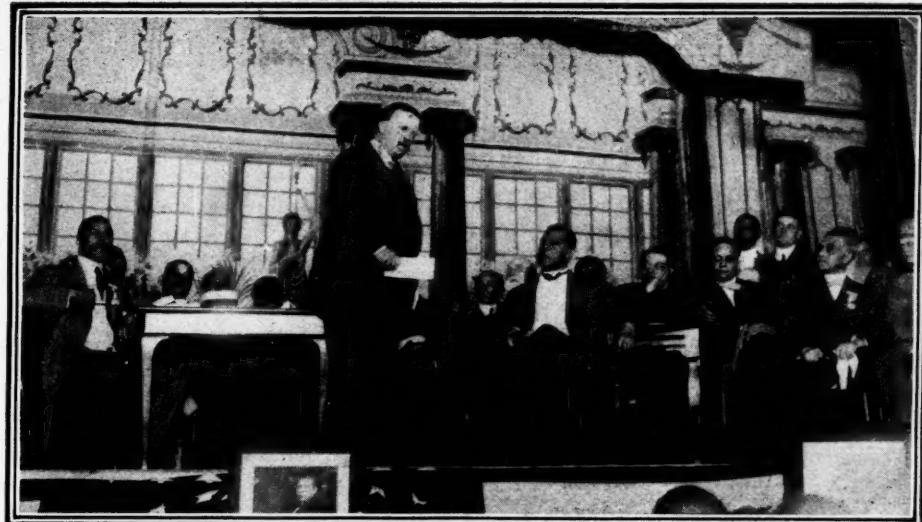
Our peaceful Secretary of War, Mr. Dickinson, in his tour last month of the Philippine Islands, found much to commend in the working of the administrative machinery at Manila and in the general advance of social and economic conditions throughout the islands. It is true that there is still a great deal of disaffection among some of the native tribes. One fanatic made an attempt upon the life of Governor-General Forbes some weeks ago. Law and order, however, are surely, if slowly, asserting their sway over all the islands. For this ad-

vance much credit is due to that excellent body of military policemen, known as the Philippine Constabulary. On another page this month (310), Judge Lobingier pays a deserved tribute to this excellent body of peace-keepers. An important decision affecting the immigration of Chinese into the Philippines; and in all probability preventing the repetition of the blackmailing of Chinese merchants by the "Tongs," a Chinese secret order, was rendered by the Supreme Court at Manila in July. Last October, Governor-General Forbes deported as "undesirable aliens" six Chinese accused of belonging to the blackmailing order. Some weeks later these Chinese returned, declaring that they refused to consider themselves prohibited from the country. Again Governor Forbes expelled them. The Chinese appealed from his decision, and entered suit for damages in one of the lower courts. In two decisions handed down on July 31 and August 3, in the case mentioned and another similar case, the Supreme Court decided that the Governor-General should be upheld in his action in deporting undesirable aliens. It also prohibited the lower court from proceeding with the damage suit.



SECURING THE OPEN DOOR
The Outside Quartet (England, United States, Germany and France), to Russia and Japan: "Hello, there, what are you doing?" Russia and Japan: "Making the Open Door Secure."

From *Wahre Jacob* (Stuttgart)



MR. ROOSEVELT, ADDRESSING THE NATIONAL NEGRO BUSINESS MEN'S LEAGUE AT NEW YORK,
AUGUST 19. (BOOKER T. WASHINGTON SITTING AT THE FRONT)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From July 21 to August 19, 1910)

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

July 23.—The Democratic primary in Texas results in the nomination of the anti-prohibition candidate for Governor, Oscar B. Colquitt; the proposition to submit to the people a constitutional amendment providing for statewide prohibition, is carried.

July 26.—Nebraska Democrats reject Mr. Bryan's proposed county-option plank at the State convention; the Republican platform declares in favor of county option.

July 27.—Warren G. Harding is nominated for Governor of Ohio, at the Republican State convention, by a combination of regulars and "progressives."

July 28.—The Minnesota Democratic convention nominates ex-Governor John Lind to head the State ticket, votes down county option, and endorses the initiative and referendum. . . . A third party, called the "Keystone," is launched in Pennsylvania to oppose both the regular State tickets; William H. Berry is the nominee for Governor.

August 1.—Ex-Governor Claude A. Swanson is appointed to serve as Senator from Virginia for the unexpired term of the late Senator Daniel.

August 2.—Gov. W. R. Stubbs (Rep.) is renominated on an insurgent platform in the Kansas primaries; the insurgents also carry six of the eight Congressional districts. . . . Joseph W. McNeal (Rep.) and Lee Cruce (Dem.) are nominated for Governor in the Oklahoma primaries; the so-called "grandfather clause" is carried, amending the State constitution and depriving about 30,000 negroes of the franchise.

August 3.—Insurgents dominate the Iowa Republican convention; the platform mildly endorses the Taft administration but criticizes the Payne-Aldrich tariff. . . . Governor Campbell, in a special message to the Texas Legislature, urges the passage of a law prohibiting saloons within ten miles of public schools.

August 4.—The voters of Tennessee reject at the Democratic judiciary primary the candidates favored by Governor Patterson. . . . A federal suit is filed in the United States District Court at Pittsburgh, charging the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad with violation of the "hours of service" act of 1908. . . . Senator Gore, testifying before the Senate investigating committee at Muskogee, Okla., reiterates his charges of attempted bribery.

August 10.—J. B. Terrell is nominated for Governor in the Texas Republican State convention. . . . The Interstate Commerce Commission orders 415 common carriers to show cause for proposed advances in freight rates.

August 11.—Senator Aldrich denies the charges of Senator Bristow regarding changes in the rubber schedule of the new tariff law.

August 12.—The Texas Senate votes against the anti-saloon measures which had passed the House by large majorities.

August 16.—Hiram M. Johnson, the insurgent candidate for the Republican gubernatorial nomination in California, is victorious in the primaries. . . . Benjamin W. Hooper is nominated for Governor by the Republicans of Tennessee. . . . In the Nebraska primaries, Mayor Dahlman of Omaha, defeats Governor Shallenberger for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination; Senator Burkett



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GOV. W. R. STUBBS, OF KANSAS

(Who won a renomination, with increased plurality, at the Republican primaries last month)

(Rep.) and Congressman Hitchcock (Dem.) are nominated for the Senatorship.... The New York Republican Committee rejects Colonel Roosevelt for temporary chairman of the State convention and selects Vice-President Sherman instead.... The Rhode Island Legislature convenes in special session to consider the report of the redistricting commission and to revise the tax laws.

August 18.—Congressman Longworth of Ohio, states that he will not support Joseph G. Cannon for re-election as Speaker; Mr. Cannon announces that he will again be a candidate for the position.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

July 21.—Señor Roque Saenz-Peña is proclaimed president of Argentina.... President Madriz, of Nicaragua, forms his first complete cabinet; the members are said to be adherents of Zelaya and hostile to the United States.

July 29.—The Spanish ambassador to the Vatican is recalled as a result of the rupture over religious orders in Spain.... The bill amending the Kings accession declaration passes its third reading in the British House of Commons.

August 3.—The British Parliament adjourns until November 15.

August 4.—Alexander Guchov, president of the Russian Duma, begins a sentence of four weeks' imprisonment for fighting a duel.

August 7.—Forty-two persons are killed or wounded at Teheran, Persia, in the fighting be-

tween government forces and Nationalist insurgents.

August 17.—The Spanish Government prohibits the meetings of Carlists called for August 28.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

July 21.—China expresses satisfaction with the recently concluded Russo-Japanese convention regarding Manchuria.

July 30.—Three Chinese officials in Manchuria resign as a protest against the Russo-Japanese agreement.

August 2.—Senator Root begins the closing argument for America in the fisheries case at The Hague.

August 5.—At the closing session of the International Peace Congress at Stockholm, the action of the American representatives regarding limitation of armament, is raised.

August 6.—President Taft is visited at Beverly, Mass., by President Montt, of Chile.

August 9.—The Sungari agreement, between Russia and China, is signed at Peking; China abandons claim to a free-trading zone on both sides of the boundary.

August 11.—The Pan-American Conference, at Buenos Aires, resolves to reorganize the Bureau of American Republics into a Pan-American Union under the presidency of the Secretary of State of the United States.... The Viceroy of Manchuria formally demands of the Japanese consul the withdrawal of Japanese in places not open to the residence of foreigners.

August 12.—The Pan-American Conference unanimously approves a convention making obligatory the arbitration of pecuniary claims among the republics of America. Senator Root concludes his address before the Hague Tribunal and the argument in the fisheries arbitration case comes to an end.

August 17.—It is rumored in Tokio that Japan has begun negotiations to annex Korea.

August 18.—Brazil and Argentina satisfactorily atone for recent flag insults in the capitals of both countries.

AERONAUTICS

August 3.—Nicholas Kinet, a Belgian, falls to his death at Brussels after an accident to his motor.

August 7.—Ernest Willows pilots a dirigible balloon, by night, from Cardiff to London, a distance of 150 miles.

August 10.—Walter Brookins, attempting a short turn in a high wind at Asbury Park, N. J., wrecks his machine and seriously injures himself and a number of spectators.

August 12.—J. Armstrong Drexel, an American, established a new record for altitude at Lanark, Scotland, attaining a height of 6750 feet.

August 13.—James Radley, an English aeronaut using a Bleriot monoplane, covers a mile in 47 2-5 seconds at Lanark, Scotland.

August 14.—Charles F. Willard, at Garden City, N. Y., carries three passengers in his monoplane.



Photograph by the National Press Association, Washington

SOME OF THE FOREIGN DELEGATES TO THE SIXTH INTERNATIONAL ESPERANTO CONGRESS HELD IN WASHINGTON, D. C., AUGUST 15-20. FIFTEEN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES ARE REPRESENTED

August 17.—M. Le Blanc wins the cross-country race of 485 miles around Paris which started on August 7.

August 18.—John B. Moissant, an American, arrives within twenty-five miles of London in an attempted flight, with a passenger, from Paris.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

July 21.—Eleven soldiers are killed by the blowing out of a breech block of a 12-inch gun at Fortress Monroe.... The strike of 12,000 workmen on the Northeastern Railways, England, ends in a victory for the company.

July 23.—A cyclone sweeping over Milan, Italy, causes the death of sixty people and the destruction of many millions of dollars worth of property.... The Japanese steamer *Tetsurei* founders off Chindo, Korea; only forty of the 250 passengers and crew were known to have been saved.

July 24.—The 500th anniversary of the battle of Grünwald is celebrated by 30,000 Poles on Staten Island, New York City.

July 27.—M. Rochette, the French banker, is sentenced to two years' imprisonment for swindling.

July 31.—President Taft approves the opinion of the Attorney-General that there can be no legal objection to the statue of Gen. Robert E. Lee, in Confederate uniform, being in the capitol at Washington.

August 1.—The new Pennsylvania Railroad terminal in New York City is formally turned over to the company by the contractors.

August 2.—The strike of conductors, trainmen, and yardmen on the Grand Trunk and Central Vermont systems is ended through intervention by the Canadian Government.

August 3.—Eight thousand mechanics in the Hamburg shipyards go on strike, demanding a 10 per cent. increase in wages.

August 5.—President Taft makes the principal address at the dedication of the Pilgrim monument at Provincetown, Mass.

August 6.—The super-Dreadnought *Lion*, 700 feet long, with a displacement of 26,000 tons, is launched in England.... Official figures place the number of deaths from cholera in Russia, during the week, at 8679.

August 8.—Thirteen persons are killed and twelve injured in a railroad collision at Ignacio, Cal.

August 9.—Mayor Gaynor, of New York City, about to start for Europe on a brief vacation, is shot and seriously injured by a discharged city employee.

August 10.—Fifteen members of a mob which took part in a lynching at Newark, O., on July 8 are indicted for fifth-degree murder.

August 12.—Uhlan, a trotting horse, establishes at Cleveland a new mile record of 1 minute, 58 $\frac{3}{4}$ seconds.

August 13.—The war department sends troops to fight the forest fires which are raging over 100,000 acres in Montana and Idaho.... More than 1000 lives are lost and 100,000 persons made homeless by extensive floods near Tokio; the damage to the rice crop is estimated at \$4,500,000.

August 14.—Fire destroys the Belgian, English, and French sections of the Brussels Exposition, the loss amounting to more than \$10,000,000.... Thirty-two persons are killed and a hundred injured in a train wreck at Saujon, France, many of them being children.



FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE, PIONEER ARMY NURSE

(Who died last month at the age of ninety)

August 15.—Governor Harmon, without consulting Mayor Marshall, orders 1000 members of the Ohio National Guard to proceed to Columbus for strike duty.... The sixth International Congress of Esperanto opens at Washington, D. C., Dr. Zamenhof and representatives from almost every civilized nation being present.

August 18.—Forest fires have broken out anew in Oregon and in Washington, and troops have been sent to assist in checking the flames.

OBITUARY

July 21.—Rev. Henry W. Rugg, D. D., grand master of the Knights Templar of the United States, 78.

July 22.—Leopold Delisle, the French historian, 84.

July 23.—John Sutcliffe, a widely known mining engineer, 73.

July 24.—Rear-Admiral Thomas H. Looker, U. S. N., retired, a veteran of the Mexican and Civil wars, 80.

July 25.—Samuel Ross Winans, professor of Greek at Princeton University, 55.... Judge Charles Francis Stone, of the New Hampshire Superior Court, 66.

July 26.—Rear-Admiral James A. Hawke, U. S. N., retired, formerly medical director of the navy, 69.

July 27.—James W. Ridgway, for many years district-attorney of Kings County, N. Y., 59....

Ex-Judge George Baker Lake, a prominent Nebraska lawyer, 84.

July 28.—James L. Houghteling, founder of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, 54.

July 29.—Rev. Dr. Bostwick Hawley, of New York, a well-known Methodist Episcopal clergyman and the oldest graduate of Wesleyan University, 96.

July 31.—John G. Carlisle, a Speaker of the House of Representatives, United States Senator from Kentucky, and Secretary of the Treasury during President Cleveland's second administration, 74.... Congressman Charles Q. Tirrell, of Massachusetts, 65.

August 3.—Edward Linley Sambourne, the chief cartoonist of the London *Punch*, 65.

August 5.—J. Edward Simmons, the New York banker and president of the Chamber of Commerce, 68.... Rear-Admiral Walter K. Scofield, U. S. N., retired, 71.... Bishop Edward J. Dunne, of the Roman Catholic diocese of Dallas, Tex., 62.... Horace A. Taylor, for many years prominent in Wisconsin Republican politics, 75.

August 6.—Harvey W. Scott, editor of the Portland *Oregonian*, 72.... Dr. Charles Jewett, of New York, a widely known medical authority, 71.... Ex-Congressman Wharton Green, of North Carolina, 79.

August 7.—John B. Studley, an old-time actor, 80.... A. Bleeker Banks, formerly mayor of Albany, 72.

August 8.—Charles H. Shaw, professor of biology at the University of Pennsylvania, 38.... Ralph B. Page, professor of History at Rutgers College, 32.... Ex-Congressman Franklin Bound, of Pennsylvania, 81.... Alexander J. Nelidoff, the Russian diplomat, 74.

August 11.—Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, widely known for her activity in law and politics, 70.

August 12.—Robert Treat Paine, the Boston philanthropist, 74.... Dr. John B. Rich, of New York, for more than seventy years a practising dentist, 99.

August 13.—Gen. Adoniram J. Warner, formerly Congressman from Ohio and a prominent free-silver advocate, 76.... J. Poyntz Spencer, Earl Spencer, a member of the Gladstone cabinet, 75.

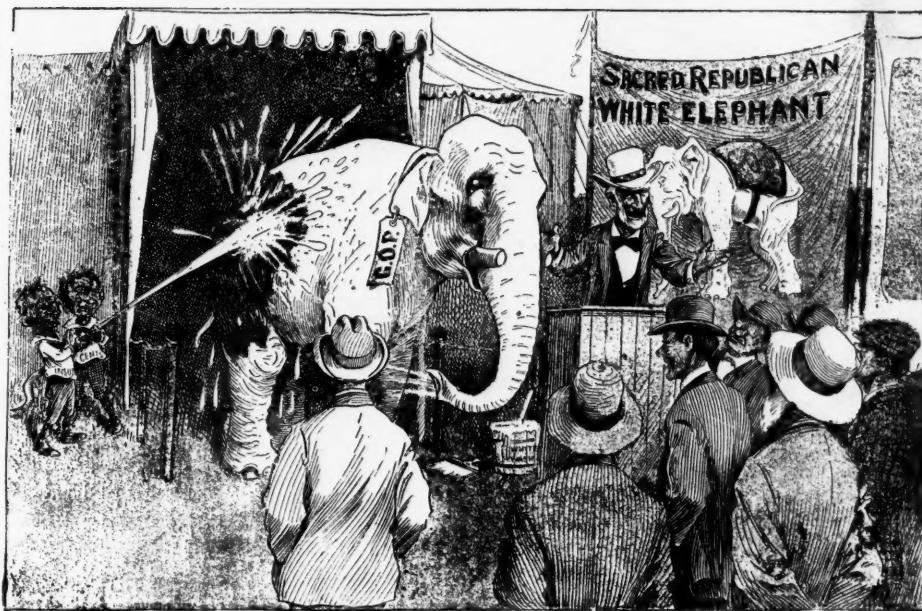
August 14.—Florence Nightingale, heroine of the Crimean War and founder of the modern system of army field hospitals, 90.... Rev. Edward Payson Hammond, the evangelist, 78.

August 16.—Pedro Montt, President of Chile, 64.... Charles Lenepveu, the French composer, 70.... Albert Spies, of New Jersey, an editor of technical magazines, 48.... Dr. Charles Fahlberg, a noted German chemist.

August 17.—Major A. M. Brown, the Pittsburgh banker and author of the address on "The Trial of Jesus from a Lawyer's Standpoint," 84.

August 18.—Frank Fowler, the portrait painter, 58.... David Ranken, Jr., the St. Louis philanthropist, 74.... Prof. David L. Maulsby, of Tufts College, 51.

POLITICS IN CARTOONS



BARKER JOE CANNON AND THOSE NAUGHTY INSURGENT YOUNGSTERS
 (The insurgents are represented as washing the whitewash off the Sacred White Elephant—the Republican party)
 From the *Saturday Globe* (Utica)

The majority of the cartoons of the past month had to do with the political conditions throughout the country, Mr. Cannon receiv-

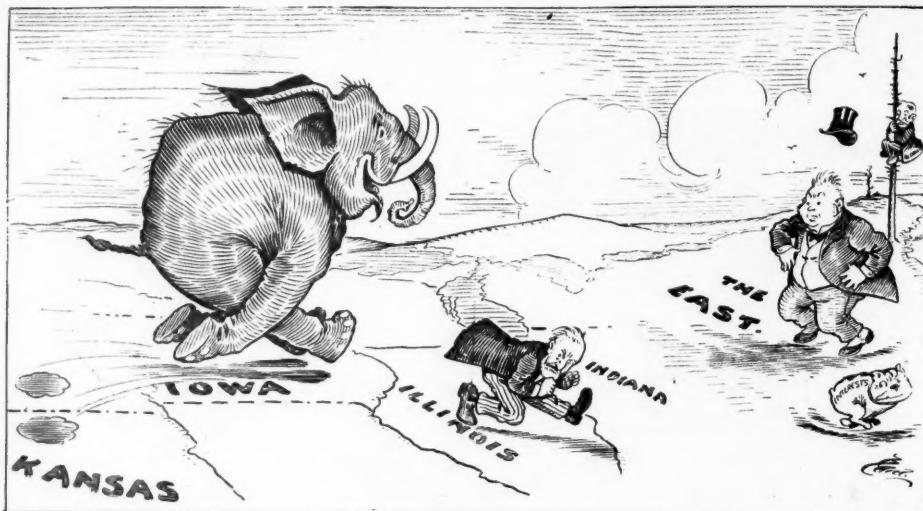
ing much attention on account of his speeches in Kansas, while the lack of harmony in the Republican party was another favorite topic with the cartoonists.



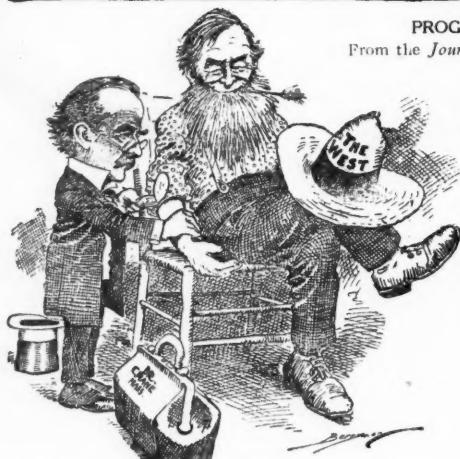
A "CRAZY QUILT"
 From the *Traveler* (Boston)



"OH, LISTEN TO THE BAND!"
 (Bandmaster Taft distracted by the Republican discord)
 From the *World* (New York)



PROGRESSIVE

From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)

SENATOR CRANE AS THE BEVERLY SPECIALIST

From the *Star* (Washington)

Whether or not the insurgent movement is actually growing stronger, and even spreading to the conservative East—as the cartoonist suggests above—is supposed to have been the question which Senator Crane went West last month to investigate. The Senator was prominently cartooned as the political scout and emissary of the Administration. In the "Crazy Quilt" cartoon, on the previous page, Mr. Crane is piously aiding the "Eig Chief."

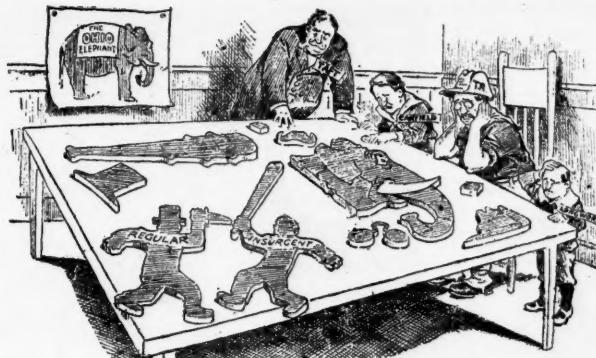


WHAT ARE THE WILD WAVES SAYING?

From the *Herald* (Washington)

BACKING UP TAFT

From the *Press* (New York)



MUST GET IT TOGETHER BEFORE ELECTION
(The Republican Party picture puzzle)
From the Record (Philadelphia)



GRISCOM HAD FIXED THE CHAIR, BUT—
At the last moment Standpat Jim slipped in
From the Sun (Baltimore)



POLITICAL PRESERVES—FOR FUTURE USE
THE BOYS IN THE BACKGROUND: "Wonder what's in 'em!"
From the Journal (Minneapolis)

Many amusing cartoons resulted from the action of the New York State Republican Committee last month in voting—by a slight majority—in favor of Vice-President Sherman instead of Colonel Roosevelt for temporary chairman of the State convention. Whether the Colonel would carry the fight to the convention itself, and also what he would say in his Western speeches, were subjects of much interest.



THE CHALLENGE
From the North American (Philadelphia)



AMMUNITION—THE COLONEL'S SPEECHES
From the Eagle (Brooklyn)



AT LAST THEY HAVE TAKEN THE HINT
From the *Post* (Cincinnati)



TRY THIS ON YOUR REPUBLICAN PIANO!
From the *Post* (Cincinnati)



BARNSTORMING IN KANSAS
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)

A number of the cartoons on this page reflect the repeated rumors of the retirement of Speaker Cannon, Senator Aldrich, and Secretary Ballinger. As the fall elections approach, these reports seem to become more frequent, in connection with talk of lightening the Republican craft for the campaign voyage.



IN THAT CYCLONIC STATE
From the *Evening Post* (Chicago)



"THEY DEMAND HIS SCALP"
Scout Crane reports to the big chief (Taft) what he has learned in the Wild West
From the *Saturday Globe* (Utica)



THE RETURN OF THE SCOUT
From the *Record-Herald* (Chicago)



CINCHING IT
From the *Evening News* (Newark)

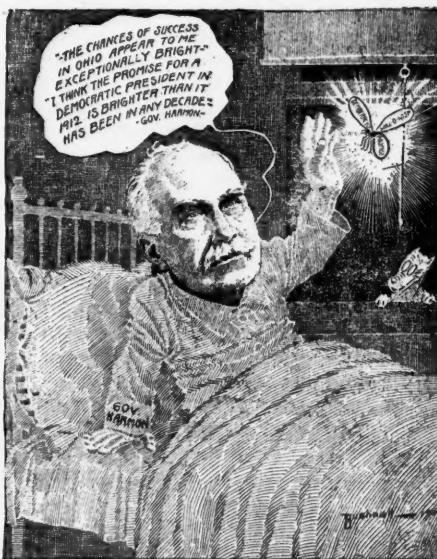


"STRANGERS YET!"
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)



THE ADMINISTRATION IS NOW FILLED WITH PRIDE
(Extract from news item)
From the *Post* (Cincinnati)

In the cartoons on this page the Republican standpatters are "pointing with pride" to the large increase in customs receipts for the first year under the new tariff law; Mr. Harmon sees a Democratic victory in Ohio this year and also in the nation in 1912; and the defeat of Mr. Bryan's county-option issue in the Nebraska primaries leaves him and Victory "strangers yet."



SOMNILOQUENCE—BY GOVERNOR HARMON
From the *Times-Star* (Cincinnati)

JUDSON HARMON OF OHIO

BY SLOANE GORDON

"WELL, it's just like this," said Judson Harmon of Ohio, tossing his Panama hat onto a convenient lounge and seating himself on the edge of a big table that occupies the center of the long reception room adjoining the Governor's office. "I'm not the mayor of this town. I'm Governor of the State. If the local authorities can't cope with this situation we'll declare martial law and then we'll run the street cars ourselves. But I've got to be assured that this is necessary. And not only that, but these soldiers aren't here to do police duty. But if a riot starts we'll put it down, *you bet.*"

Saying which Judson Harmon, Governor, strode into his private office and slammed the door. Then he sent for the mayor of Columbus—one Marshall—and told him to get busy, which the mayor did, though to but little purpose, as it later developed. And it finally did become necessary for the State authorities and the State troops to take a hand. But that's another story.

It was to a news-hungry horde of reporters that Governor Harmon made the statement given above. He had just landed in Columbus from his summer home in Michigan. There was a street-car strike on in Columbus. The mayor and the sheriff had called out the troops. Four thousand of the State militia were camped about the town. It was costing the State thousands of dollars to maintain them there. And Judson Harmon was mad about it. The interference of troops in strike times is a condition usually fraught with delicate danger to those politically ambitious. Politicians had schemed to get Harmon "into a hole." Did it bother him? Not a whit. He just went at the situation with characteristic directness. And that's the Harmon way—direct—forceful—unwavering. If he has work to do, he does it. If he starts out to play, he plays.

And so Ohio likes him immensely and is getting ready, right now, to work and fight and shout for Harmon for President when he secures the Democratic nomination for that exalted position, as Ohio confidently and pridefully believes that he will. Ohio really feels that there is no chance for her to lose in the Presidential elections of 1912. She feels perfectly confident that William Howard Taft will be renominated by the Republicans.

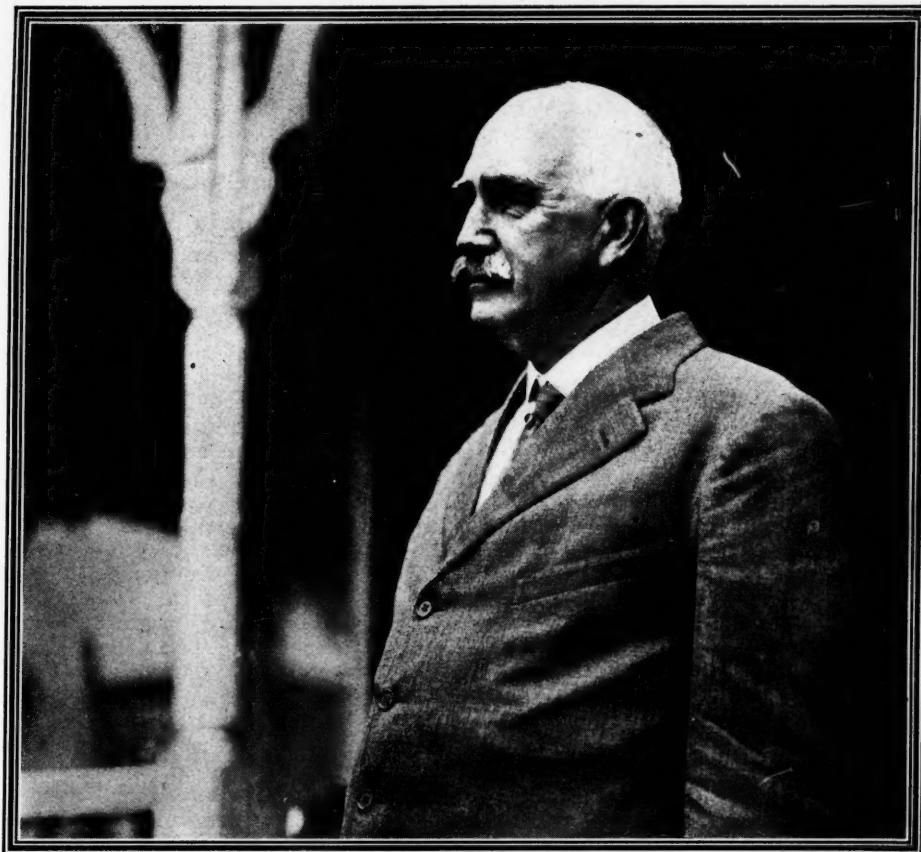
And she would wager her State seal that Judson Harmon will be nominated by the Democrats. And right now she thinks a heap more of Harmon and his chances for election-day success than she does of the chances of Mr. Taft, who suffers the disadvantage of being, temporarily at least, "in bad."

Harmon appeals to the Ohioan whether that Buckeye's political notions dovetail with the Harmon brand of politics or no. Because Harmon is, to use the expression of a Holmes County farmer who was analyzing the merits and demerits of the State executive, "jes' so durn common."

"I'll tell ye, boys," he said. "I went down t' th' state house an' I walked right into th' Governor's office an' I sez, sez I, 'Where's Jud?' An' right then he comes a-walkin' out an' he grabs me by th' hand and he asts me where I'm from an' hands me a stogy an', by cracky, when I tells him my name and that I'm from ol' Holmes, why, he asts me about a lot of th' fellers up here an' takes me by th' arm and we walks out o' the capitol together. He ain't no more stuck up than you be."

Which homely estimate casts an intense and interesting sidelight on J. Harmon. He may not be feverishly interested in you, but he has a quiet, unobtrusive way of making you believe that he has been sitting up and waiting to greet you since the dawn of history. Not an ostentatious palaver, understand, but just a natural, friendly sort of a way with him that you're bound to recognize and appreciate and swell up about.

Newspaper men are good judges of human nature. They have to be. No man is a hero to a seasoned reporter. All great men are merely ornamented clay. The reporter is trained to cynicism. He knows how most great men become great and what negligible atoms they would have remained if printer's ink hadn't been smeared over them in sufficient quantities to make them conspicuous. And so the fact that Governor Harmon is the idol of the Ohio press boys is worthy of record. They all like him. It may be that the particular paper which a reporter is employed by maintains a political policy that compels the Columbus representative to hang a criticism of Harmon on every available news-hook. That makes no difference. The reporter



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THE HON. JUDSON HARMON, GOVERNOR OF OHIO

(The portraits and other illustrations accompanying this article are all reproduced from photographs made during the past summer at Governor Harmon's summer home at Charlevoix, Mich. They are now published for the first time)

likes Harmon. And Harmon understands the reporter's position. And he jokes with him and gives him the news and sits on the big table in the center of the Governor's reception room and swings his ample feet and hands the reporter an occasional stogy and talks right out in meeting.

A timid young newsman, green and uncertain of himself, was sent to interview the Governor one day last winter.

"Come in," shouted Governor Harmon from his private office.

The reporter entered haltingly.

"Sit down," directed the Governor.

The reporter eased himself into a chair.

"Look at that letter," said the executive, thrusting a sheet of paper covered with alleged writing into the hand of the puzzled reporter. "It seems to me that a man who

writes like that ought to be sentenced to thirty days in a country school."

Then the reporter got his interview and went away understanding that Governor Harmon was "just folks" and that there were no frills about him whatever.

And Judson Harmon, Attorney-General of the United States in the cabinet of Grover Cleveland, was just the same as is Judson Harmon, Governor of Ohio. There were no frills about him then. When he first came to Washington the reporters flocked about him, of course, to ascertain just what sort of a person this newly discovered Ohio attorney who had been elevated to the cabinet might be. Mr. Harmon met them smilingly, looked them over with eyes a-twinkle and proceeded to answer their questions with a frankness and candor that was most refreshing.

"What am I going to do?" he remarked in response to interrogatories. "How the devil do I know? What would you do? I don't know any more about this job yet than a pig does of Sanscrit. But I'm going to try to find out about it, and then do the best I can. I wish you boys would help me. You know more about the duties right now than I do."

Well maybe that didn't make a hit with the correspondents! Here was a distinctly new type of public official—not one wrapped about by the mantle of his own importance, but just a natural human person who said exactly what any other official under like circumstances would say if he said what was in his mind. Harmon said what was in his mind. And he's still doing it.

But he carried out his promise to "try to find out" what his duties as Attorney-General were and the records testify to his subsequent mastery of the position.

The manner in which he secured that position is worthy of note. Secretary Daniel Lamont sent him word in Cincinnati that President Cleveland would like to have a talk with him. Mr. Harmon went to Washington. He met Cleveland, and the talk followed. It developed that Mr. Cleveland was seeking some unbiased information about a number of Ohio applicants for office. Harmon candidly told him all he knew about each of the men whose names came up for discussion, sparing none, condemning none and commanding none—just stating facts. President Cleveland thanked him and every disappointed office-seeker in Ohio blamed "Jud" Harmon for "knocking" him and preventing him from sacrificing his private interests for the public good.

A short while afterward President Cleveland and Mr. Harmon were both guests of James E. Campbell, then Governor of Ohio. They became rather chummy on this occasion. After Mr. Harmon left, Mr. Cleveland made the remark to Mrs. Campbell that he considered "that fellow Harmon" a mighty fine man.

It wasn't long after that that Judson Harmon, in opening his mail at the law office of Harmon, Colston, Goldsmith & Hoadly, in Cincinnati, found a brief letter, hand-written, from President Cleveland, inviting him to become a member of the cabinet, with the Attorney-Generalship as his particular job.

Mr. Harmon read it over carefully. He got up and paced back and forth in the office a few times. Then he called Mr. Colston and explained the situation to him.

"Now," he said, "I'm going out home and put it up to Mrs. Harmon. If she wants the

job she can have it. That is, if she wants to go to Washington as the wife of a cabinet officer she may. If she elects to stay in Cincinnati, here we stay."

And so it happens that Mrs. Harmon really settled the question and that it was her verdict that made Judson Harmon Attorney-General of the United States.

No more vigorous Attorney-General has ever filled that exalted position. When Mr. Harmon took hold he proceeded carefully, as he always does. There was nothing revolutionary about his methods. But during the period of his incumbency he took stands and carried through prosecutions and rendered decisions that have established world-wide precedents. And he did it all in that easy, natural way that marks every move that he has ever made, before and since his cabinet experiences.

For, prior to his service as Attorney-General, Mr. Harmon held other public positions. He was Superior Court judge in Cincinnati and was succeeded in that position (which he resigned) by William H. Taft, now President. Later he became a District Judge, and, strangely enough, Mr. Taft followed him in that position. Then Mr. Taft became Solicitor-General of the United States. Harmon followed him to Washington as a cabinet member.

"I don't know whether Bill Taft is following me or I'm following him," he laughingly remarked one day; "but we seem to be moving along in the same general direction. I wonder if he won't follow me into the cabinet." Sure enough, Mr. Taft did follow him into the cabinet by becoming Secretary of War under Mr. Roosevelt. And those who believe in the Harmon brand of destiny are insistently confident that "Jud" is to follow Mr. Taft still further. However—

Out in Ohio they still call him "Judge." Nine out of every ten men referring now to the man who has been Attorney-General and



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GOVERNOR HARMON'S COTTAGE AT CHARLEVOIX, MICH.



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A NEW PORTRAIT OF MRS. HARMON

Governor since he sat on the bench speak of chin. It is built like a stone abutment. The "Judge Harmon." And yet he doesn't look particularly judicial. To look conventionally judicial one must be as solemn as a treeful of owls. Governor Harmon doesn't come up to specifications in this regard. He has big gray eyes that are set wide apart and little laugh-made wrinkles radiate from them in all directions. There is always the suggestion of a smile under the lashes. Over these eyes are great bushy brows that really need trimming. There is plenty of hair left on the outskirts of the massive Harmon head, but up on top it isn't congested to speak of. There are strands of gray,—many of them,—but there is also much that seems to retain the color of youthful days. His nose is plentiful and arched a bit and under it there bristles forth a gray mustache that looks like the business side of a wire brush. A mouth that is wide and straight, teeth that are white and even, and ears that are neither modest nor retiring complete the facial picture. That is, except the

Harmon body is long and lank and loosely knit—a sort of an Abe Lincoln body with long legs and long arms attached at regular places and a way of doubling itself up in a chair that makes you wonder if it will come out without kinking. But it does come out all right and when the Harmon mentality directs its activities that body can do athletic wonders.

Mr. Harmon is sixty-three years old. No one, not acquainted with this fact, would take him to be more than fifty-five at the most. He is just as vigorous as a man of many years under fifty-five and as fond of sports and of the out-of-doors as a schoolboy.

For many years he was one of the best amateur baseball players in Cincinnati. He was the pitcher in a nine composed of business men who met every Saturday afternoon out in the suburbs of the Queen City to try diamond conclusions with teams from other localities. Judson Harmon never missed a



GOVERNOR AND MRS. HARMON AMONG THEIR FLOWERS

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GOVERNOR AND MRS. HARMON WITH TWO OF THEIR GRANDCHILDREN

game while he was in town. He would go to the ball field, shed his coat and collar and with rolled sleeves wade in and pitch nine straight innings with all the vim and vigor of a Cy Young. In fact, he still loves to get out with his old baseball friends and pitch a bit, even though prudes may maintain that this is not a dignified thing for the Governor of a great State to do. Harmon cares about as much for what the prudes think about him as he does about the morals of Mars. Also he is a great lover of golf and he and President Taft have

had battles on the links many times. It is not recorded that Governor Harmon was always victorious in these contests; nor is it of record that Mr. Taft established golf supremacy, but the respective golf merits of neither the one nor the other will have any particular bearing upon the more important contest in which the twain seem destined to engage in the fall of 1912.

Another Harmon hobby is fishing. Mr. Harmon and President Cleveland found common ground in that sport and made many a trip together to Middle Bass Island



DAUGHTER AND GRANDDAUGHTER
(Mrs. Cassatt and Olivia Harmon Cassatt)



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THE GOVERNOR'S FAVORITE RECREATION

in Lake Erie. There is a story current aent one of these fishing excursions that cannot be verified because Governor Harmon declines to either affirm or deny it. "They say" that a reporter who was assigned to "cover" one of the Harmon-Cleveland fishing trips rowed out to the place where the President and his Attorney-General had their boats anchored and began sparring for "copy."

"What sort of bait do you use?" inquired the press representative by way of opening conversation.

"Well," answered Mr. Harmon, with a twinkle in his big gray eyes, "I usually use rye, but Mr. Cleveland seems to prefer bourbon. Which do you like?"

Every summer Mr. Harmon goes to Michigan for his vacation and fishes and fishes and fishes. He can go out in the gray of dawn and sit in a boat all day and come in at night with a new crop of tan and a hard-luck story and enjoy it, apparently, just as much as though he had made the record catch of the season. In his fishing excursions he dresses for the part. He puts on a loose flannel shirt and a soft hat and wears a short-stemmed pipe that works much more constantly than the reel. On many of his fishing excursions Mr. Harmon is accompanied by his little grand-

daughter, who takes almost as keen an interest in the sport as does her distinguished "grand-dad," as she calls him. One day last summer the youngster landed a three-pound bass while grand-dad had to be content with two lake perch that wouldn't weigh a pound put together. But, ordinarily, Mr. Harmon is a successful fisherman. He has studied fish and knows all about the technique of the game. If you give him the chance he will talk fish to you for three consecutive hours, telling you all about the habits and habitats of the fresh-water and salt-water tribes and when and how and where to catch them.

"Boys," he remarked to a group of State officials who were congregated in the executive chambers one blustery afternoon last January, "they're catching fish down in Florida."

But there are other sides to Judson Harmon. I've dwelt upon the personal side because that is the most interesting side of any public man. You and I would rather know what sort of socks and hats a man wears than to have his ideas of the fourth dimension thrust upon us. But maybe, in conclusion, at least, we would like to know something about the views and ideals of a man so pregnant of potential political possibilities as Judson Harmon. Wherefore, they may be given.

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WHEN THE FISH ARE BITING AT CHARLEVOIX



Judson Harmon is not a radical in the modern acceptation of that term. Neither, it should be noted, is he a reactionary. He does not meet the requirements of the ultra-Bryan wing of the Democratic party. In the convention at Dayton last June which renominated Mr. Harmon for the Ohio Governorship, he lost no little support by, tacitly at least, "acquiescing in the program of the conservatives" and giving silent countenance to their successful efforts to throttle the movement to endorse a candidate for United States Senator.

Democratic platforms in Ohio for years have urged the election of United States Senators by direct vote. As the next best thing, seeing that the federal Constitution provides other means for the selection of members of the upper house, Ohio Democrats have urged and, in some instances, accomplished endorsement. John H. Clarke of Cleveland was once endorsed. James E. Campbell of Hamilton was endorsed two years ago. The "practical politicians" of the party have fought against this because endorsement shuts out contributions to the campaign fund. If John Croesius harbors a desire to represent Ohio in the United States Senate (as he does this year) he is willing to put up to a fund raised for the purpose of furthering the interests of "right" members of the General Assembly. But he wouldn't be foolish enough to come out as a candidate for endorsement at the hands of a State convention, because he knows that he and his ambition would be pilloried.

Mr. Harmon, it must be said, in all candor, took the side of the "practical politicians" at Dayton, and Ohio's Democracy, after years of clamor for the popular election of Senators, went on record as cravenly ignoring that issue in this year of grace. And there will be a battle of dollars waged for the Senatorship in Ohio this fall as a result, if the legislature is Democratic. Governor Harmon didn't rise to the occasion. In justice to him it should be stated that he is probably honestly against any "new-fangled" method of Senatorial selection. He has a tendency to worship at the shrine of the old order of things. He is a Cleveland Democrat—strictly constitutional and inclined to deprecate innovation. He has but little patience with those who seek so-called "reform."

But he has his fixed and unalterable views on broad public matters—views that he airs whenever called upon—views that he insists on presenting without regard to platforms, parties, or expediency. He is a pepperish ad-

vocate of tariff reform and has been such for many years. He believes the present protective tariff to be not only unfair but dishonest. And he has made many notable speeches along this line. On October 16, 1909, at the Texas State Fair held in Dallas, Mr. Harmon delivered an address in which he discussed the Payne-Aldrich Tariff law at length, dwelling upon the unhealthy growth of combinations and trusts and stating among other things the following:

It is time to close up the public nursery, now that the industries it has fed so long are grown, many of them overgrown, and have married and been given in marriage, too.

The people want protection themselves, now, from these giants which keep them walled in at home, at their mercy, and go across the ocean to meet foreign competition on its own ground.

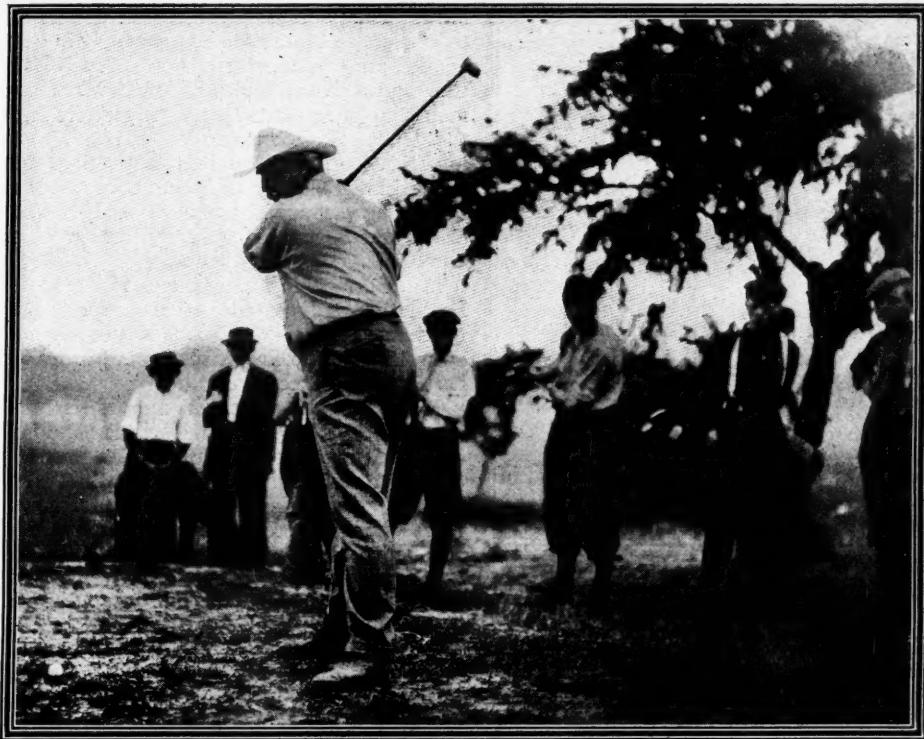
They wish to be set free so they can make, and carry out if need be, on their own behalf, the threat Mr. Taft made as Secretary of War when the American manufacturers proposed to charge the same exorbitant prices they charge citizens, for implements and materials required for the Panama Canal, viz: to buy in other markets unless prices are reduced.

They remember that President McKinley said at Buffalo eight years ago that we have outgrown and must abandon the policy of shutting ourselves off from the markets of the world.

They know that we have to keep on raising most of our revenue by taxes on imports. They wish these laid so as fairly to divide the burden among all classes and parts of the country. They believe that these taxes, with the cost and risk of long carriage which all competitors must bear, will afford the only advantage American manufacturers can now justly have. But they insist that tariff taxes shall be measured by the proper requirements of the government and not by the demands of seekers after private advantage. The amount of public revenue needed can always be readily known, but the wit of man cannot estimate what these private demands ought to be, no matter what basis be assumed for them. "A reasonable profit" would be as hard to determine as a "reasonable restraint of trade," which the President rightly says is impossible. And if it could be figured out, nobody has ever explained why the government should guarantee a reasonable profit to some citizens while it leaves all the others to take their chances.

On the subject of States' rights Mr. Harmon is equally vehement. In an address at the Jefferson banquet of the National Democratic Club in New York in 1909 he set forth his ideas on this matter. Said he:

The people of every State profit constantly by the experience of the others and often adopt their laws and devices to secure better government, but it would not be wholesome to allow the men of other States, near or distant, to have a voice in the affairs of any State but their own. The individuality of the States is what makes them great and strong, and the Union great and strong through them. Weak States would soon make the Union



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GOVERNOR HARMON IS A RIVAL OF PRESIDENT TAFT—ON THE GOLF COURSE

feeble, or it would become a government wholly different from its design.

He believes in an income tax.

He believes in the stringent federal regulation of trusts.

He believes that "malefactors of great wealth" should, as he puts it, "be confined in asylums."

"When a man's money-crazy," Governor Harmon says, "he is just as dangerous as when he's blood-crazy. For my part I think an insane murderer running amuck is far less important—far less menacing—than a money-mad monopolist."

And yet the man who gives voice to these views is pictured by those who oppose him as a corporation lawyer-representative-pupil.

It is true that he has been a corporation attorney. In the practice of the law—aside from his public career entirely—Judson Harmon has been eminently successful. He has won famous cases. He has been conspicuously for or against this corporation or that. But here is something that should be noted about him:

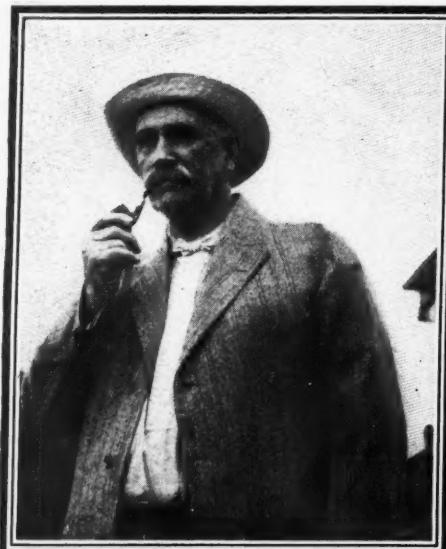
He has never in his entire career as an attorney for and against corporations been engaged for a corporation against the public. He wouldn't accept such employment. His enemies may scoff at this if they will, but his record proves it. He has always been perfectly, plainly and unmistakably sincere in that regard.

In an address which he delivered at the opening of the Law School of the University of Cincinnati on Sept. 26, 1905, Mr. Harmon had this to say to the students:

Listen to no one who suggests that morals concern the clients only while you have to do with legal rights alone. It is true that one may do a moral wrong by enforcing a legal right, and in such cases the lawyer does not necessarily share the blame. And there is no substance in the charge that lawyers must become lax of conscience because they sometimes uphold the side of a case that proves to be the wrong one.

* * *

I have no patience with those who affect to despise wealth. Honorably gained it should be a joy to anyone. But huge corporations and powerful industrial and commercial combinations in various



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A VACATION SNAP-SHOT

forms have brought on a conflict with the sentiment of the people who, true to the instincts of the race, see a grave menace to our welfare and perhaps to our institutions and are seeking various remedies by law.

* * *

I do not mean that lawyers should refuse to represent such (corporation) clients. It is their obligation to render proper service to any who ask it and a lawyer of high rank rarely fails to number some of these among his clients. But he must be careful to do nothing for them that he would not do for less important clients. He must not forget that they, unlike his ordinary clients, have or may have interests which conflict with those of the public, and that his first duty is to the public, not only because he is a citizen but because from it he has received his commission as an officer of justice.

As Governor of Ohio Mr. Harmon has made a most remarkable record. He has upset all precedents by calmly ignoring the machine politicians, as a result of which a number of them in his own party grow apoplectic whenever his name is mentioned. But for every machine vote so alienated Mr. Harmon has gathered unto himself scores of supporters among the business men of all parties—men who believe that he has given Ohio a business administration. Mr. Harmon did not seek the governorship. He was drafted. And when he agreed to run, after being waited upon by numerous anxious committees of politicians, he did so with the understanding that if elected he would run the gubernatorial office on a business and not on a political

basis. The politicians had heard this sort of talk before and they winked knowingly at one another and perfunctorily applauded. But they had reckoned faultily. When Mr. Harmon came in he started after the grafters and the lobbyists; recommended a number of investigations that resulted in putting one former state official in the penitentiary and in recovering vast sums of money illegally taken as interest on public funds by former state treasurers.

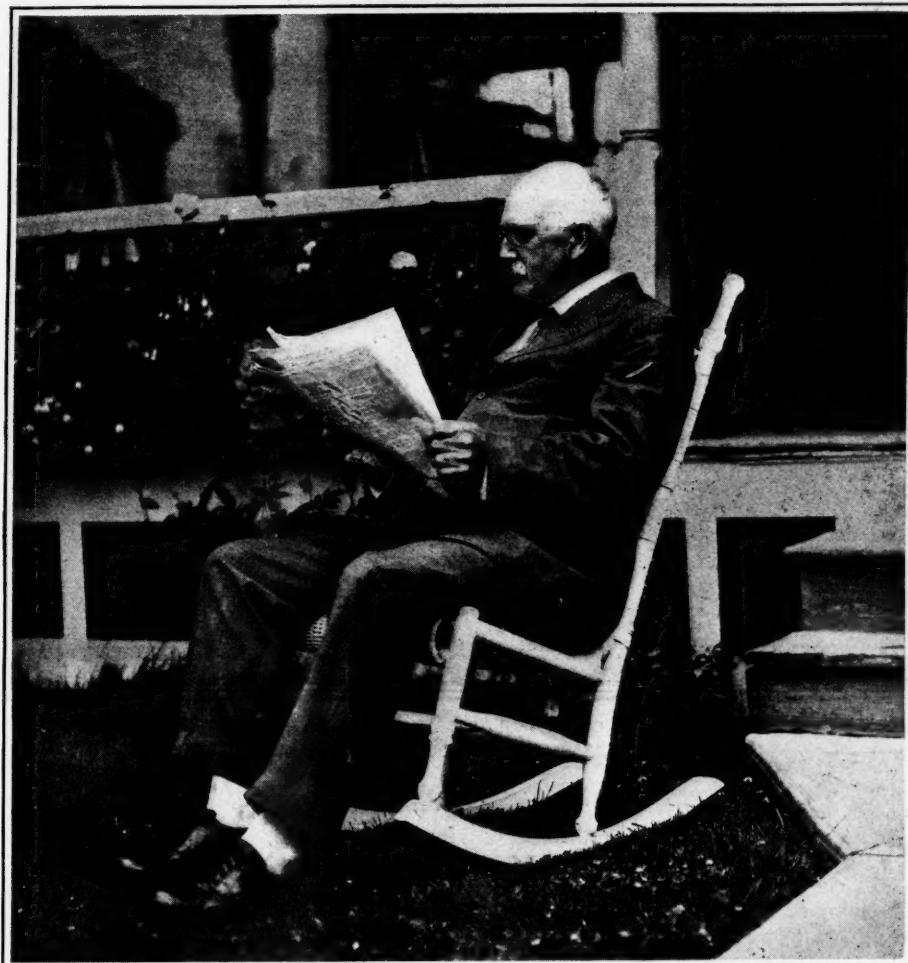
Mr. Harmon in his messages to the Ohio Legislature advocated various progressive measures, a number of which were adopted, even though the Legislature was politically hostile to the executive.

Mr. Harmon is a business man of remarkable ability. This is attested by his handling of several great railroad properties. As receiver for the Baltimore & Ohio Southwestern back in the nineties, he made his first great record, bringing order out of chaos and restoring to the stockholders a rehabilitated property. A few years ago he was appointed receiver of the Grand Central System, which included the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton and the Pere Marquette railroads. This system was in such a tangle that the properties looked like "a net loss with no insurance" as one of the expert accountants remarked at the time. Receiver Harmon in a little over two years paid every creditor in full and then turned over to the stockholders a property the stock of which was worth par.

Mr. Harmon has been severely criticized by those who carp for having retained this receivership for eight months after he became Governor. The fact is that he sent in his resignation before being inaugurated, but Judge Lurton, then on the federal circuit bench, declined to accept it on the ground that there were many matters pending that no other person could so well adjust as Mr. Harmon. It is notable, in this connection, that, for the first time in history, the Canadian courts appointed a United States subject as receiver where Canadian property was involved. This property was that portion of the Pere Marquette railroad situate in Canada.

Governor Harmon was born at Newtown, Hamilton County (Cincinnati), Ohio. His father was a school-teacher who subsequently became a Baptist minister. There is a little church in Newtown still standing that was built through the activities of the elder Harmon. The Governor has three daughters and is splendidly devoted to them and to his charming and accomplished wife.

That Mr. Harmon is an active and desirous

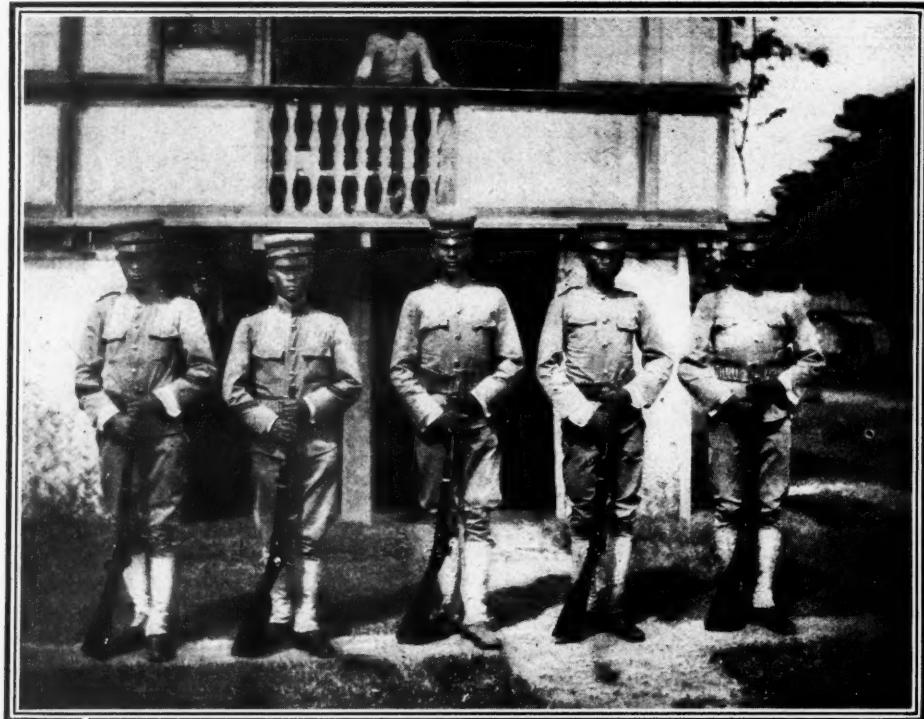


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A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE TO BE RECKONED WITH

candidate for the Presidency none may doubt. He has established a press bureau in Columbus, conducted by Mr. O. C. Riddle, and a daily grist of Harmon literature is ground out there. It is more than probable that Mr. Harmon will be reelected Governor this fall. In that event his nomination for the higher office is practically certain. But even should he lose Ohio—assuming that he makes a creditable showing—he will still be a formidable Presidential probability. And when he reaches the White House, if he ever does, he will, at times, sit on the edge of the big table that occupies the center of the cabinet room and swing his feet and talk straight out from the shoulder. That's his way.





MEMBERS OF THE PHILIPPINE CONSTABULARY, AN ORGANIZATION THAT HAS MADE THE UNITED STATES RESPECTED THROUGHOUT THE ARCHIPELAGO

THE PEACEKEEPERS OF THE PHILIPPINES

BY CHARLES SUMNER LOBINGIER

(Judge of the Court of First Instance, Philippine Islands)

IT is a subject of common remark among those informed that the Philippine Islands would probably not be incorrect to say that at any time least the last quarter-century preceding the within a score of years and probably many more. We are apt to acquire an exaggerated notion of the turbulence of the period since American sovereignty began as compared with that preceding, because the latter is less familiar to us. The Spanish chroniclers were disposed to conceal the troubles of their government and to lead their readers to believe that its rule was much more effective and unchallenged than was really the case. We know, however, of the uprising in Tayabas in 1841, and of the Cavite insurrection of 1872. There is reason to believe that there were many others which

official histories have left unnoticed and it was almost continuous. It was this condition that made possible the unfortunate and ill-advised war against America. That was the culmination of the long period of revolt, and its consequences and echoes died slowly. Remnants of the insurgent forces continued in the hills as ladrone bands long after the last official surrender. Depredations by these were constantly occurring, and in some parts, as Samar and Leyte,

But now all is changed. Except possibly in some remote portion of the Moro province, which always presents a problem *sui generis*, no armed band shows itself. Here and there in some inaccessible mountain region of the far interior a lonely ladrone stalks with few or no followers and in constant fear, or steals into some peaceful *barrio* only to secure food and escape as quickly as possible unnoticed. But in all the settled and civilized regions, and in most of the uncivilized, for that matter, the inhabitants follow the lawful pursuits of peace, and the beneficent rule of America is unresisted.

Various causes have contributed to this gratifying condition. The army, regular and volunteer, of course, prepared the way. Every American civilian official with a proper appreciation of his own responsibilities and his country's fame and mission has aided in the outcome. The establishment of the Filipino Assembly in 1907 was a master stroke in pacification. But the agency which completed the process and keeps it complete was and is the Philippines Constabulary.

EVOLUTION OF THE CONSTABULARY

The idea of such an organization is older, even in the archipelago, than American sovereignty; for the Spanish *guardia civil* was of this class. It is still rendering good service in Spain, where it recently destroyed the following of the famous brigand "*El Vivillo*" ("The Lively Kid") and has long operated against similar bands. In the Philippines through many years it was the mainstay of such peace and order as were preserved. Upon the establishment of American civil government in 1901, when it had become apparent that the maintenance of a large force of troops in the Islands was neither necessary nor desirable, the Philippine Commission set about to solve the peace problem by other means, and the *guardia civil* furnished at once a suggestion and a model. The Commissioner to whom the Department of Commerce and Police was assigned was Gen. Luke E. Wright, afterward Governor General and Secretary of War, and under his wise direction, with the able assistance of Major Henry T. Allen, U. S. A.,¹ its first chief, the Philippines Constabulary was organized. General Wright was succeeded in his department by the Hon. W. Cameron Forbes, now Governor General, who has always made the Constabulary one of his first concerns. The present head of the department

is the Hon. Charles B. Elliott, of Minnesota, formerly a judge of the Supreme Court of that State and of the Philippines, who brings to the position a wealth of legal knowledge that should prove especially valuable in the changed conditions under which the Constabulary is now operating.

The original design of the organization was that of a police force in form as well as in fact. Its members were called "constables" and were organized not into companies, but into provincial groups. They were armed not with rifles but with revolvers and shotguns. Gradually, however, it was found that the conditions were still such as to require military as well as police service, and changes were introduced accordingly. In 1905 the men were organized into companies with appropriate officers. Experience, too, showed the necessity of an improved armament, and long-range Krag carbines with knife bayonets were eventually furnished. Strict military discipline, with drill and other exercises, mark the daily routine of every Constabulary detachment. Finally, it should not be forgotten that from the beginning the entire expenses of the force, including both officers and men, have been defrayed from revenues raised in the Philippines and that the United States Government is called upon for no pecuniary aid.

PRESENT ORGANIZATION

Mr. Hamilton Wright, in his excellent "Handbook of the Philippines," declares that "In some respects the Constabulary is the most unique military organization in the world." But it is in its internal structure and discipline, rather than elsewhere, that its military side is visible. At the head of the organization is the chief,—now Capt. H. H. Bandholtz, U. S. A.,—who, in addition to his civil designation as Director of the Constabulary, bears the title of General. His administration has been marked by a growing appreciation of the Constabulary among the Filipinos and a general improvement in *esprit du corps*. Below him are six Colonels and four Lieutenant Colonels each having the alternative title of Assistant Chief. Next in order are about twenty-two Majors, most of whom are also Senior Inspectors of the various provinces. For the territorial distribution of the constabulary reaches to every province in the archipelago, and over each is a Senior Inspector. As there are thirty-eight provinces, the number of Majors is insufficient for this purpose, and many Captains are accordingly serving as Senior Inspectors. Below the Captains are the First, Second, and Third Lieu-

¹A brief sketch of this gallant and accomplished officer and his work in the Constabulary, by Prof. J. W. Jenks, appeared in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, Vol. XXVI, p. 436.

tenants, who complete the roster of noncommissioned officers.

Entrance to this roster is, of course, normally through the lowest round. The filling of all vacancies by promotion from the lower grades is the announced rule of the service. Hence the utmost care is now exercised in the selection of Third Lieutenants. American candidates for this appointment are now usually required to be graduates of some institution of college rank, and to produce the best of credentials as to character and antecedents. Indeed the American universities and colleges are now regularly called upon for recommendations to fill these positions. The result is that new material for the Constabulary is being recruited from the flower of the American youth, and its future, so far as officers are concerned, is assured. On the other hand the service offers to a limited number of young Americans with a taste for semi-military life, a fairly permanent and attractive career. While the compensation at first is not large (third lieutenants receive \$1100 annually) it increases substantially with promotion, and at the end of twenty years of service the Constabulary man, private or officer, may retire with a life pension of at least one-half his current pay.¹ Besides the line officers already mentioned the Constabulary has a very efficient corps of staff officers. These include the Supply Division, with its medical corps, which often affords the only skilled physician in remote parts of the Philippines, and the Information Division, which furnishes invaluable assistance to the courts in the detection and apprehension of criminals.

THE CONSTABULARY SCHOOL

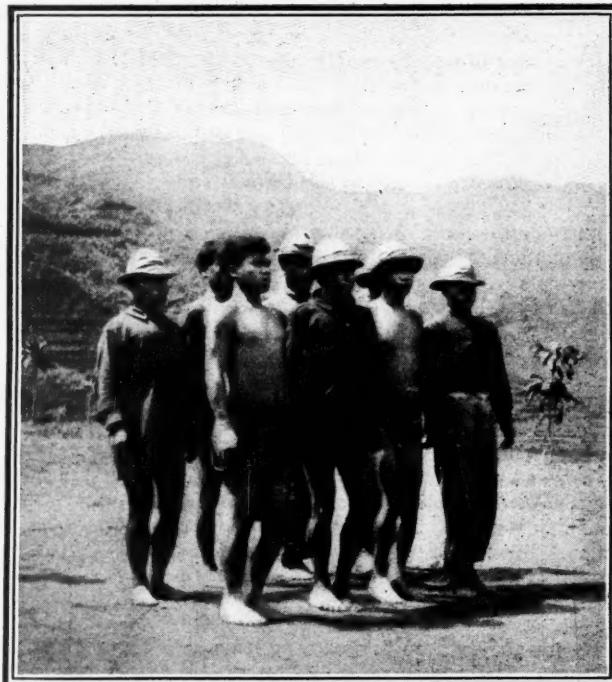
No sketch of the organization would be complete which should fail to mention this unique and useful institution which aims to give the newly appointed Constabulary officer a special course of instruction before sending him to his post of duty. The course includes, in addition to military drill and Constabulary adminis-

tration, instruction in Philippine law and the Spanish language, both of which are highly serviceable to every officer. The school was originally established in Manila, but in 1908 under the superintendence of Major James F. Quinn, it was removed to Baguio, the summer capital, where its building occupies a commanding eminence among the pine-clad hills of Benguet. Here in a climate of the temperate zone, away from the distractions of a large city like Manila, the young cadet devotes himself to three months of final preparation for his work.

FILIPINOS IN THE FORCE

While special mention has been made of American officers in the Constabulary, it must not be supposed that these are the only ones. On the contrary, the Filipinos have a very considerable representation in the official corps. Colonel Crame, Chief of the Information Division, is a Filipino, as are three of the Captains and some forty Lieutenants of various grades. All the noncommissioned officers are Filipinos, and so is the entire enlisted strength of more than 5400 men. When it is remembered that this force is scattered over an archipelago more than twelve hundred miles in length and con-

¹Philippine Act 1638. The amount may be increased to three-fourths by remaining ten years longer, the allowance being 2½ per cent. "for each year's active service."



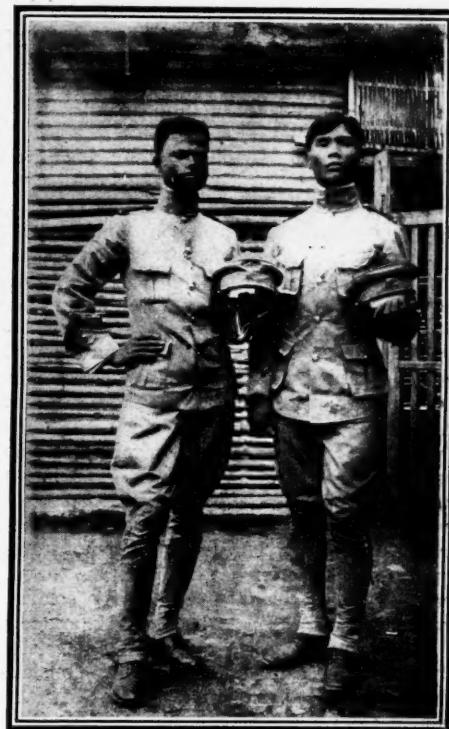
RAW RECRUITS (IGORROTE)

taining a population of seven and one-half millions, it will be seen that the numbers are surprisingly few for the task imposed, and that the credit due for the success attained is correspondingly great. The officers as a rule speak favorably of their men, their obedience to discipline, readiness to learn and general faithfulness. Much care is exercised for their comfort and sanitation, and schools of instruction are conducted in the barracks by the American officers. Here are trained the non-commissioned officers, usually selected from privates who show the greatest proficiency in the school, and not the least of the good influence of the Constabulary comes from those who return to civil life after a transforming course of instruction and discipline during their period of enlistment. But the present stage of efficiency has been reached only after a long process of experiment and selection as regards both officers and men, and the chief reason why more Filipinos are not now occupying the advanced posts is the difficulty of attaining the high standards imposed.

THE CONSTABULARY AT WORK

As has been suggested, the Constabulary was not designed to be primarily a military organization. This does not mean, however, that it has not been or cannot be used for military purposes. On the contrary, it has frequently been so used, especially in former years when the unsettled state of the country compelled resort to heroic measures, happily now no longer necessary. To mention only two instances, the Constabulary did yeoman service in the fierce battle of Bud Dajo, in the Sulu group on March 12, 1906, when a detachment led by the gallant Captain (now Lieutenant Colonel) White, the present head of the Constabulary School, cooperated with the regulars in routing and destroying one of the most desperate bands of Moro outlaws. Twelve days later, at Mactaon, Samar, the writer was an unexpected witness to the valor of constabulary soldiers who, while guarding and escorting Governor Curry and himself on a mission of peace to the *puláhans* or mountain brigands, were treacherously attacked by a much superior force of the latter and repulsed them completely after a bloody encounter. It is true that a portion of the Constabulary fled at the first *puláhan* charge, but this only made more creditable the conduct of the handful that stood firm and saved the day.

But the prime purpose of the Constabulary is not military but police duty. Like its prototype, the Spanish *guardia civil*, and its coun-



NATIVE SERGEANTS

terpart, the Italian *Carabinieri*, the Canadian mounted police, and the constabularies of Pennsylvania and Jamaica, its main function is to preserve order and to prevent and punish violations of law. The Philippines Constabulary is not intended to supersede the municipal police, but the inefficiency of the latter in the provincial towns renders the former's services all the more necessary. There have, indeed, been proposals from time to time to place the municipal police under the Constabulary, and this appears to be the only method by which the police in the provinces can ever be brought up to a proper standard. But the local politicians almost uniformly oppose this, knowing that it would reduce their influence, and the central government has apparently hesitated to force the change lest it should be considered an interference with the local autonomy guaranteed by President McKinley's instructions to the Philippine Commission.¹ But even without this reform the Philippines

¹In his message to the legislature in 1908, Governor General Smith called special attention to the inefficiency of the municipal police, referring only to those in the provinces. By an unfortunate mistake the cable reports of this message were understood by the American press as referring to the Manila police, which is an exceptionally fine body of men, being administered with the city itself, under the supervision of the Governor General.

thanks to the Constabulary, are now one of the best policed parts of the world. There are, indeed, few countries where escape is more difficult for the ordinary criminal or which possess a detective organization equipped on so large and coördinated a scale. The news of a crime committed in one part of the archipelago can soon be telegraphed to a Constabulary force in any other part, and the apprehension of the criminal is usually but a question of time. When it is further explained that there are no juries in the Philippine courts, and few, if any, of those miscarriages of justice through appeals to sentiment and other causes which are so familiar at home, it will easily be understood that our insular machinery for the prevention and punishment of crime is the more efficient and secures better results.

But the apprehension of criminals forms only a part of the Constabulary's work. Its purpose is to protect law-abiding people not merely from the lawless, but also from other dangers. Destructive conflagrations not infrequently sweep through the Philippine towns, and a detachment of Constabulary soldiers usually affords the sole fire-fighting brigade. Floods and tempests threaten the property and often the life of the Filipino. The Constabulary is at hand to render aid. There is, in fact, apparently no service to the people, from destroying noxious insects to furnishing delightful band music in the public parks, for which these little khaki-clad soldiers may not be called upon.

On the other hand, the Constabulary officers find a very practical field of usefulness in assisting and instructing native civilian officials. Major Allen, the first Constabulary chief, used to tell his young officers who were being sent to the provinces for the first time that their primary mission was to make peace between the United States Government and the community wherein they should be stationed, and in a letter addressed to district directors¹ under date of September 2, 1905, the same officer said:

New conditions require, while maintaining cohesion and discipline in our ranks, that sound

¹The archipelago is divided into six districts, with a director in charge of each.

instruction in civic duties receive your first consideration . . . We must do all we can to help and to teach native officials by persuasion, advice and explanation, and endeavor to secure and maintain their confidence and good will.

It is in the performance of this line of duty that the officer's acquaintance with Philippine law becomes extremely valuable. The municipal presidents find it difficult to understand the Municipal Code or the numerous other laws which govern their official acts. The justices of the peace may be called upon to interpret and apply provisions of almost any of the Philippine codes or statutes. Yet these officials are usually men with very little training for their tasks, and the Constabulary officer is often the only accessible representative of the American Government from whom they may seek instruction or advice in an emergency. Clearly, he cannot be too well posted on the laws of the archipelago. Naturally those relating to crime and criminal procedure concern him first, but there is hardly any legal subject upon which it may not be advantageous for him to be able to give advice. For not the least of his opportunities is that of settling disputes between litigants and interpreting the laws not merely to officials but directly to the people. As has been well said by Colonel Harbord, "in many places remote from the centres of commerce and politics the Constabulary khaki and red are the only visible symbols of government to the people whose knowledge of the lawmaking and other branches of the government is shadowy and intangible. The Constabulary officer of the right sort thrown in such a community becomes the guide, philosopher, and friend of hundreds."

Such is a brief glance at one of the prime forces that make for peace in the richest of our new possessions. Surely former President Roosevelt was not far wrong in classing the Constabulary with the judiciary and declaring that the successful outcome of America's undertaking in the Philippines depends largely upon the efficiency of the former and the purity of the latter. Here, also, as in other features of the Philippine political organization, the home country may find something to imitate.





CATCHING A CAVALRY CHARGE ON THE MOVING-PICTURE CAMERA

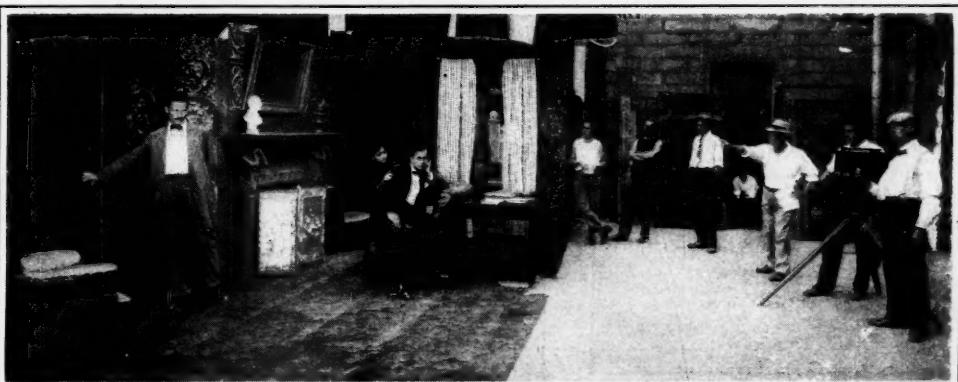
THE MOVING PICTURE AND THE NATIONAL CHARACTER

MOVING pictures are the main American amusement of to-day. You must appreciate this first of all. Study this table:

CITIES	POPULATION	M. P. THEATERS	SEATING CAPACITY
New York	4,338,322	450 (est.)	150,000
Chicago	2,000,000	310 "	93,000
Philadelphia	1,491,082	160 "	57,000
St. Louis	824,000	142 "	50,410
Cleveland	600,000	75 "	22,500
Baltimore	600,000	83 "	24,900
San Francisco	400,000	68 "	32,400
Cincinnati	350,000	75 "	22,500
New Orleans	325,000	28 "	5,600

In New York City, the moving-picture center of the world, there are 250 "shows" against only 76 regular theaters. Some of the latter include moving pictures on their bills.

The chief combination of manufacturers produces 20,000 feet a week of new films—of which eighty copies apiece must be made. Mr. Edison's royalty, begun only recently, amounts from this source to an income of \$8000 a week. The middlemen or "exchanges" pay manufacturers \$9,000,000 for films, which the former rent at about \$18,000,000 a year to the actual exhibitors or showmen. They in turn



"BEHIND THE SCENES" WITH THE MOVING-PICTURE FOLKS

(In the upper picture operators of the Vitagraph Company are recording a cavalry charge while the stage manager "instructs the galloping "actors" through a megaphone. In the lower picture the intense emotion on the stage contrasts with the business air of managers and operators to the right)

collected nickels and dimes in 1909, at their 10,000 ticket-windows, amounting to \$57,500,000. And these audiences numbered more than two and a quarter million souls *per day*—three times the audiences of all the regular theaters in America put together!

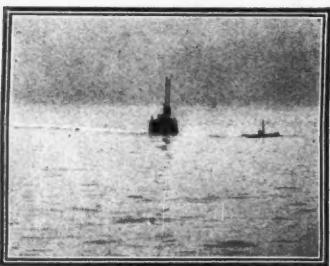
When an enterprise as vast as this gets into the field of morals, something serious is bound to happen one way or the other. So far, it is happening both ways. For instance, we quote from a last month's newspaper:

Charles Judson witnessed a "suicide" scene last night in a moving picture show at Newark. Then he went home and copied the plan of the picture heroine. His body was found in his gas-filled room this morning.

The suicide was nineteen years old. The picture that he saw last night showed a young woman going through all the preliminaries to suicide by gas, finally reclining on her bed and awaiting death calmly.

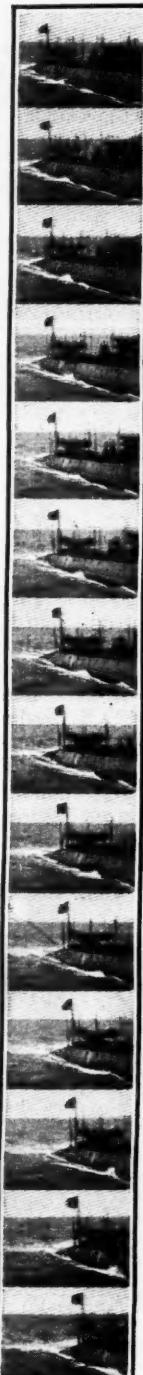
What was thrown on the screen Judson copied to the last detail, even to the stuffing of the cracks of the windows and doors.

In the files of any newspaper office can be found story after story like the above. Only a few weeks ago the newspapers told of a tragedy in Philadelphia. A clerk, unreasonably jealous of his wife, went with her to a moving-picture melodrama. It showed a home disrupted by a friend's attentions to the wife. The suggestion of fancied wrongs fanned the clerk to a murderous rage. The next morning this clerk shot his wife dead in the presence of their seven-year-old son. The police had no trouble in learning the immediate incitement.



Photographs by

(At recruiting stations spirited manœuvres are shown of submarines, as above, and torpedo boats, as in the central reproduction of consecutive films)



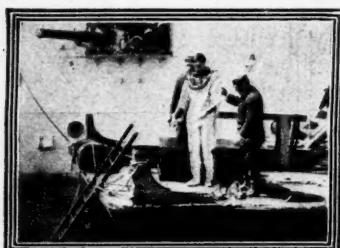
With young, formative, and impressionable minds the results are, of course, worse. Indeed, the motion-picture show is as widely suggestive to this class as the cheap sensational novel used to be. Recent records show that three Brooklyn lads committed burglary to get the price of admission to unlimited "Wild West" pictures. To obtain free tickets from the criminals who run shows in sections of large cities, many boys and girls have been led into all sorts of vice. Two Pittsburg youths tried to "hold up" a street car after viewing a train robbery enacted on a moving-picture screen.

Only a few weeks ago, the President of Police in Berlin forbade children under fourteen to attend moving pictures at night under any circumstances. Before that, the efforts of the S. P. C. C. of New York City had resulted in a similar law against the admission of any children under sixteen unaccompanied by an adult. The International Police Association adopted William A. Pinkerton's resolution at its last meeting for the suppression of moving pictures calculated to increase crime. The agitation in July against the moving pictures of the prizefight at Reno, Nevada, became nation wide.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE SIDE

Is there any reason why so compelling a force cannot be thrown entirely to the aid of education and inspiration?

No reason at all appears to an observer of the uplift and public serv-



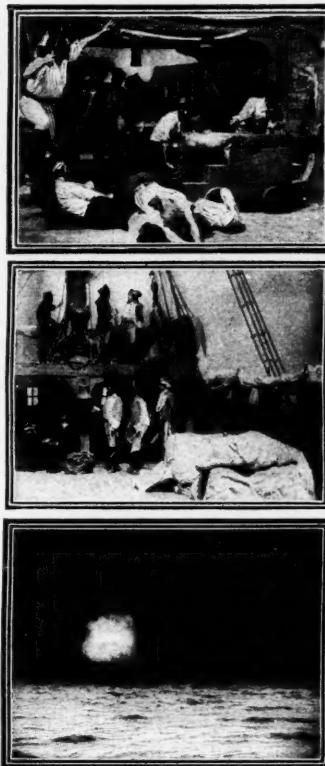
Edison Manufacturing Company

(A scene from "Tom Bowline," the story of a country lad's rise in the Navy, written by Paymaster Dyer, and acted before the motion-picture camera for the inspiration of prospective sailors)

ice already credited to the best film manufacturers. To popularize the Navy, a few motion pictures were made, by order of the Government, for exhibition in recruiting offices. Then one of the "Edison" film company's operators suggested that mere views and naval drills were all right, but that adventures, romances, and spirited action would be better. Whereupon Paymaster George P. Dyer became an active playwright, with motion pictures as his material. His first production was "Up the Ladder with Tom Bowline," a country lad's rise in the service and the heroism that wins him a beautiful bride. "The Sea Hounds" was another romance dealing with torpedo boats. The Government cheerfully furnished as "stage properties" the battleship *Texas*, at Charleston; the *Reina Mercedes* at Newport; the entire torpedo fleet of eleven craft at Newport; a half-dozen torpedo boats at Charleston, and a squadron at Magdalena Bay. The method has proved a convincing recruiting method.

The possibilities of constructive helpfulness in the motion picture have long been plain to thinkers like Thomas A. Edison. He said recently: "It will wipe out narrow-minded prejudices which are founded on ignorance, it will create a feeling of sympathy and a desire to help the down-trodden people of the earth, and it will give new ideals to be followed."

"It is a tremendous vital force of culture as well as amusement" in the neat phrase of Prof. F. K. Starr of the Uni-



Photographs by Edison Manufacturing Company

THE LIFE AND BATTLES OF JOHN PAUL JONES

(The actors followed historical paintings closely. The battle of the *Serapis* and the *Bon Homme Richard* was run off in miniature—in a tank)



Photograph by the Biograph Company

LI HUNG CHANG AND THE FIRST MOVING PICTURE EXHIBITION IN CHINA

(The kinetoscope contained pictures of Li himself, as he had visited Grant's Tomb in New York. Li exclaimed with emotion, "It moves! It moves!")

versity of Chicago. Glancing over the catalogues of manufacturers like Pathé Frères and George Kleine of Chicago, one finds films offered that unfold lessons in "agriculture, aéronautics, animal life, bacteriology, biography, biology, botany, entomology, ethnology, fisheries, geography, history, industrial, kindergarten studies, mining and metallurgy, microscopy, military, naval, natural history, ornithology, pathology, pisciculture, railroad, religion, scenic, travel and zoölogy."

William H. Maxwell, the New York City Superintendent of Schools, demonstrated this year, before the Board of Education and a number of visiting educators and clergymen, a history lesson in motion pictures—scenes from the life of George Washington, including a highly realistic crossing of the Delaware, a triumph of "make-believe" more impressive to the school child's imagination than any book could possibly be. The scenes were directed by the late Prof. Charles Sprague Smith, head of the People's Institute, a

pioneer in the movement for wholesome pictures. Another film-history just completed is the life of John Paul Jones. During months past actors and stage managers have been at work dramatizing historical paintings of the sea-fighter's life with high accuracy. The battle between the *Serapis* and *Bon Homme Richard* is unquestionably convincing, although it actually took place in the Bronx Borough of New York City on a miniature scale, in a tank.

Indeed, no less than 900 of the 2900 subjects passed upon by the "censors" of moving pictures in New York City, during the year ending last spring, were classed as having educational value. Many other subjects dealt incidentally with foreign geography and social life.

Only 14 per cent. of these films were classed as "pedagogical." But of the other 86 per cent. a full half was put down as "serious" drama.

These 2900 films, however, were of the better class to begin with, as will be plain after examining the nature of the "censors'" work.

THE NATIONAL BOARD OF CENSORSHIP

The big practical step toward eliminating pictures that are dangerous, and encouraging wholesome ones, was the formation, by the People's Institute of New York, of the National Board of Censorship. This is composed of public-spirited men and women, persons of high professional standing, representatives of the municipal government, and of social organizations, along with those of the main combination of manufacturers. Many of the so-called "independents," however, voluntarily submit their films also for the National Board's "O K"—which, as a certificate of good standing and respectability, has business value.

Four times a week the censors meet, passing each time upon fifty-odd series of films. Slips of paper are handed around, and criticisms and suggestions are written on them by the censors. These command the manufacturers' attention, although, in many cases, the rearrangement of plot and picture means an immediate money loss.

ACTUALITY REGARDLESS OF EXPENSE

So the problem of suppressing moving pictures that are improper has ceased to exist



Photograph by Pathé Frères

SCENE FROM "THE LIFE OF CHRIST," AS PRODUCED BEFORE MOTION PICTURES IN FRANCE WITH EXTRAORDINARY HISTORICAL ACCURACY, DELICACY AND REVERENCE

with these leading and successful manufacturers—those in the so-called "trust," and several of the "independents" too. To get plays that shall be at once uplifting and striking, they scour the earth.

For instance, ex-President Roosevelt, soon after his return from Africa, spoke at a gathering of notable big game hunters in warm praise of another African sportsman, likewise just returned. The latter, however, had exhibited his coolness, courage and quick decision in face of dangerous animals to obtain, not their hides and heads, but their movements on films worked by other members of the party. The method used by "Buffalo Jones," leader of this carefully selected expedition, was to "rope" or "lasso" the brute performers. Many thousand dollars will be spent before the public sees that American film, of course. But there are many examples of big outlays on the part of moving picture manufacturers to get the "real thing" outdoors. The Selig Company in Chicago, having mapped out supposititious adventures of Colonel Roosevelt in the jungle, is said to have spent \$10,000 before the pictures were completed. A real lion had to be shot dead by the moving-picture hunter, whose life was really in peril. The Kalem Company hired a whole railroad in Florida to make a realistic war-time series. The Edison Com-



Photograph by Pathé Frères

"THE KISS OF JUDAS"—ANOTHER BIBLICAL SUBJECT AS STAGED FOR THE FRENCH "FILMS D'ART," BEFORE WHICH ALBERT LAMBERT, MOUNET-SULLY AND OTHER FAMOUS ACTORS HAVE APPEARED

pany, in depicting how an evil man came to his end by going over a steep cliff, sent an automobile originally worth \$4,000 over the Palisades, opposite New York City. In the tank were twenty gallons of gasoline and there were forty more gallons in glass bottles in the tonneau, to insure a sightly explosion when the machine landed on the rocks. The flames shot up a hundred feet. The camera men got excellent pictures.

The leading French Company, Pathé Frères, has 5,000 employees over most of the globe. It has offices and a manufactory in New York City and Jersey City. The main offices are in Paris with several branches in France. In Spain, Russia, Italy, Germany, India and Japan there are fully equipped branches. In almost every other country there is an operator with his camera, ready to go out on instructions from Paris.

FRENCH ART ON THE MOVING-PICTURE SCREEN

In France the moving picture has been elevated to another form of artistic expression. As early as 1889 Coquelin and Bernhardt did not consider it inconsistent with their high position to pose before the speeding films. Bernhardt gave her rendition of "Hamlet," Coquelin appeared in "Les Précieuses Ridicules" and it is told that they acted with all the sparkle and inspiration that

goes across the footlights to a keenly sympathetic audience. "We are playing for posterity," remarked Coquelin.

Edmond Rostand is reported as fashioning a picture play. Henri Lavedan has written several, among them "The Assassination of the Duke of Guise," for which Saint Saëns composed especial music; and the "Kiss of Judas." Albert Lambert's portrayal of Jesus is beautifully tender, irradiated by a transfiguring humility and clothed

with a tranquillity and mysticism that differentiates it completely from its surroundings. Stage management, too, is at its highest in these pictures. The suggestion of painted canvas is entirely lacking in the interiors, while the action in the open is "the real thing."

SPELLBOUND BEFORE A PICTURE PLAY

The delicacy and reverence of "The Kiss of Judas" is without a single false note of the theatrical. I first saw it following a helter skelter comedy that had kept the house in a ripple of laughter. All became hushed and still. Even the clicking machine seemed detached and remote. When it was over, silence continued—until a woman laughed shrilly, half-hysterically, and the spell was broken. Everybody relaxed.

"The Life of Christ," the staging of which cost nearly \$10,000, became highly popular abroad. In America, within the last few months, Pathé Frères have disposed of \$150,000 of films, to theaters, lecture lyceums, churches and religious societies. Balzac's "Peau de Chagrin," "Duchess de Langeas," "La Grande Bretache" and other stories have been visualized. So has the work of Gautier, master picture painter himself. Hugo and Merimée furnish themes. Mistral, gentle poet of Provence, has had his "Meirelle" and "L'Arlesienne" charmingly illustrated.



BERNHARDT AND COQUELIN ON THE "FILMS"

(In 1889, when the moving-picture camera was new, Bernhardt acted before it in "Hamlet" and Coquelin in "Les Précieuses Ridicules." The French have raised moving pictures to the rank of a high art, employing the most famous actors and the best stage management and scenery)

Here is a final instance of the other kind of picture. Just as this magazine went to press, Acting Police Commissioner Bugher, of New York City, had issued this order to his force:

You will forthwith carefully inspect all moving picture shows in your precinct, and where any signs are displayed relative to the attempted assassination of Mayor Gaynor you will have same removed forthwith and forbid any pictures to be shown relative to the same.

WHAT EVERY COMMUNITY CAN DO

Enough examples have been given of moving pictures that are very bad and very good to show how simply the problem could be solved by organized supervision. Any religious or public-spirited organization can obtain from the National Board of Censors of

New York City lists of pictures that have been approved, so that improper ones may rigidly be boycotted. Such an arrangement in every section of the country would clear the situation immensely. On the circulating library plan, catalogues could be examined, and the desirable films marked. Thus it would readily become apparent to both manufacturer and exhibitor what the better element of the public admired, and what it condemned.

The exclusion of improper books from public libraries and circulating libraries is pretty closely attended to. Yet no group of libraries in the world have ever possessed the influence over susceptible children, and over all minds in the formative and impressionable stage, that the motion picture exerts to-day. It is probably the greatest single force in shaping the American character.



Photographs by the Biograph Company



"MOVING" DRAMAS—CLASSICAL AND ROMANTIC

(The left-hand scene is from Browning's "Pippa Passes," as done in motion pictures; the other, from Helen Hunt Jackson's "Ramona." To act this for the films, the entire company were sent to the exact locality used by the novelist, in Ventura County, California)

EXPOSURES OF TRICKERY IN SCALES AND MEASURES

BY FRANCIS ARNOLD COLLINS

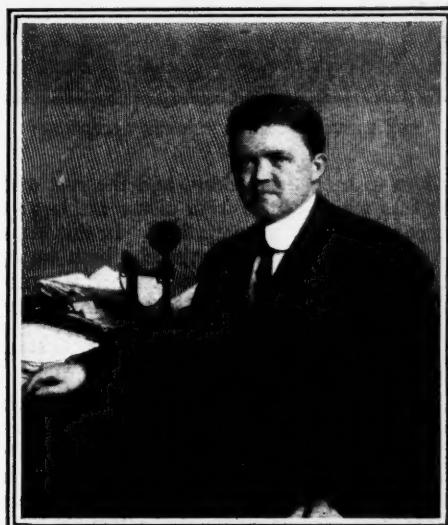
AMONG an astonishing proportion of dealers, both wholesale and retail, the familiar units of measure have become merely figures of speech. Under a lax administration of the law pounds, pints, and yards have grown more and more elastic, limited only by the conscience of the tradesmen and the credulity of the customer. So general has this deception become, so much a matter of course, that to-day many leading merchants and commercial exchanges actually defend short-weighting and short-measuring as an established "trade custom," and argue, in all seriousness, that to return to the old standards would disorganize trade.

It has been found that more than two-thirds of all the scales used in New York are 3 per cent. "fast," or worse. The minimum deception of 3 per cent. is alone equivalent to the interest paid by savings banks or first-class bonds. A legal rate of interest, the common reward of industry, is therefore counted against the purchaser before he enters the store. The annual loss to the consumer aggregates tens of millions of dollars.

THE NEW YORK FIGHT FOR REFORM

A vigorous campaign against these abuses is under way in New York. The awakening to these intolerable conditions is largely due to the work of Mr. Fritz Reichmann, the Superintendent of Weights and Measures for the State of New York. Mr. Reichmann employs direct methods. He visits a city or town unannounced, and, basket on arm, calls at the leading shops and purchases familiar household articles. He has no trouble gathering evidence. When the exact weight or measurements have been ascertained, he appears before some civic body or other representative gathering and displays his basket of short-weighted commodities. Invariably, the public is aroused, consternation is spread among the offenders, and a reform, more or less permanent, is effected.

The conditions in New York City were made the subject of a special investigation recently, by the Bureau of Municipal Research, when the worst anticipations were realized. The reed.

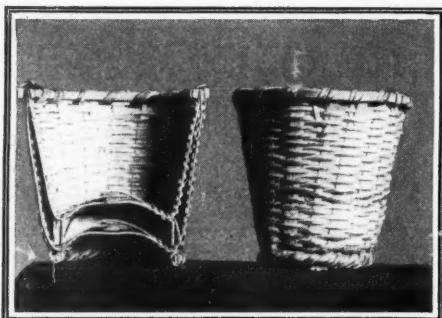


COMMISSIONER CLEMENT DRISCOLL, OF THE NEW YORK CITY DEPARTMENT OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES
(Commissioner Driscoll has made the campaign against petty frauds one of the spectacular features of the Gaynor administration)

investigations indicated that in Manhattan 44.47 per cent. of all the scales, 66.66 per cent. of the weights, and 59.61 per cent. of the measures swindled the consumer. Conditions were a trifle better in the other boroughs. Acting upon this report, Mayor Gaynor completely reorganized the Municipal Department of Weights and Measures, appointing Mr. Clement Driscoll commissioner. Mr. Driscoll at once led a number of raids upon stores and markets, and even the great wholesale houses. The extent of short-weighting and measurement revealed by him seems almost unbelievable. As a result of his campaigns much permanent good has been accomplished, and the example is being followed in many parts of the country.

THE LESSER OFFENSES

Much unconscious cheating, due to inaccurate weights and measures, has been discovered. The wear and tear upon scales, the



THE FALSE BUSHEL—A COMMON DECEPTION

failure to keep them clean, and the rust and stiffness which comes from disuse are largely accountable for such variations. In this class of errors the loss, however, works both ways, and the dealer is as likely to suffer as the customer. In the long run, to be sure, things are likely to even up. A strict enforcement of the law is likely to work to the advantage of both parties.

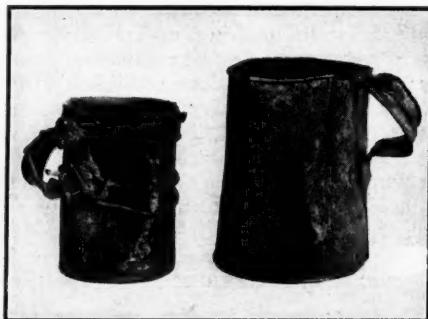
A far more serious class of offenders is made up of the small dealers who deliberately falsify their weights and measures. When such deceptions are mentioned, it is this class which is commonly called to mind. These offenders show considerable ingenuity, although little art, in foisting their short weights upon the public. As a rule, they are easily detected. Many of their devices are so obvious that the consumer who permits himself to be deceived arouses little sympathy.

WIDESPREAD DECEPTION

One of the most elementary methods of deception is to tamper with the measures. The small huckster drives nails through the sides of his quart measure and bends down the points inside. A more skillful merchant inserts a false bottom. The tin measure is deeply dented, invariably on the inside. Whether such a measure be used for apples, potatoes, or some liquid, it, of course, gives short measure in direct ratio to the depth of the dents. Without meaning to palliate this class of offenses, the authorities are not chiefly concerned with them. The total loss to the public from these frauds is relatively small. It is, besides, a crime easily dealt with. A hasty examination of the scales or measures is soon made and the case for the prosecution easily prepared. Few intelligent purchasers are deceived.

In running down these offenders, the authorities often find that such cheating has been

forced upon them by the methods of powerful competitors, either the department stores or the chain stores. The smaller dealer finds himself undersold by his rival who is enabled to cut prices by first cutting weights or measures. To hold his trade the small trader imitates his rival, and the struggle thus commenced spreads rapidly. An entire neighborhood is soon corrupted. The extent of this deliberate deception is astounding. During a careful investigation of conditions in New York City in which 617 places were visited and some 2957 sets of scales, weights, or measures were examined, it was found that 34.9 per cent. of the scales were 10 per cent. or more short, 15.7 per cent. of the weights were short 10 per cent. or more, and 50.1 per cent. of the weights were 10 per cent. or more off. A very trifling proportion of these errors was accidental. The percentage of weights and measures causing a loss to the customer was 56.32, while the percentage of loss to the dealer was but 2.37,—a suggestive contrast.



THE DENTED TIN MEASURE

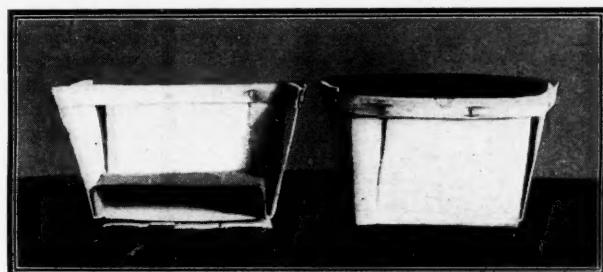
An investigation of the milk-bottles used by twenty milk dealers in New York showed that 60 per cent. of the quart bottles, 83 per cent. of the pint bottles, and 60 per cent. of the half-pint bottles were short. The maximum shortage for quart bottles was 7.8 per cent., and of pint bottles 2.6. The conditions in the bread bakeries is even more serious. Among forty-eight bakeries investigated, 45.2 per cent. supplied a loaf of bread under fourteen ounces, the standard size advertised, and 83.3 per cent. sold short loaves for the sixteen-ounce loaf.

FALSE BERRY BOXES

It is commonly said in the shipping trade that any kind of a berry box "will go" in New York. No matter how high the false bottom may be raised, there seems to be no complaint.

Mr. Reichmann has chanced upon cranberry measures, supposed to hold 67.2 cubic inches each, which actually held but 18 cubic inches. The dry measures have been practically unregulated in New York till the present time. It is estimated that more than 40 per cent. of the berry boxes are undersized. In one of these raids the boxes obtained were, on the average, more than 50 per cent. short. So great is

the demand for these false measures that a considerable industry has been built up to supply them. Many of the products of these manufacturers are works of art, showing remarkable ingenuity and workmanship. It is possible to buy a "bushel" basket, for instance, with false sides and bottom so carefully woven that the average eye will be completely deceived. The "second-story" berry box supplies a well-defined want. It is made with a false bottom, usually removable, so cheaply that many shopkeepers are unable to resist its temptation. The crusade for honest measures, however, has already borne fruit. Very re-

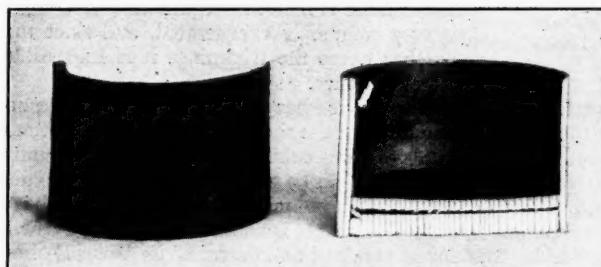


THE BERRY BOX THAT "GOES" IN NEW YORK

TAMPERING WITH SCALES

The extent to which scales are doctored is almost unbelievable. As a result of a careful examination of the weights and measures of New York recently, it was found that more than half the apparatus used was false. Stimulated by the present short-weight agitation, the scale business is said to be experiencing an unprecedented boom. One large manufacturer of scales has announced that he is unable to keep up with the demand. Thousands of scales have been confiscated in New York. One of the commonest deceptions is merely to loosen the brass fronts of the scales and slide the index of degrees up or down, thus making the pound anything the dealer chooses. Many scales, again, are provided with adjustable adjustment screws which enable the salesman to turn the weight up or down before the eyes of the customer.

Within a few weeks Commissioner Driscoll has visited the factories of several large manufacturers to fix the responsibility for the "fast" scales common to every community. He found that while many manufacturers turn out accurate, conscientious scales for their export trade, they frankly admitted that "anything was good enough for America." In the absence of any general supervision, unscrupulous manufacturers supply the dishonest dealer with fraudulent scales practically with impunity. One manufacturer admitted having sold thousands of fraudulent scales in the past year. In almost any other country this would be a criminal offense. Not content with even these conditions, some manufacturers distribute broad-

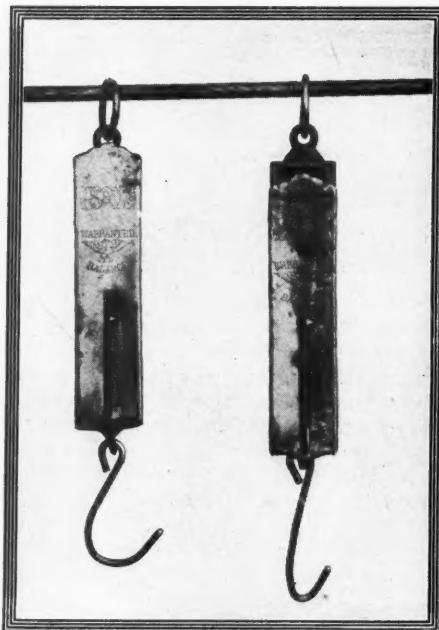


FALSE-BOTTOM DRY MEASURE

cently the berry-box manufacturers in North Carolina have met and agreed to make only honest boxes hereafter.

METAL CANS AND MEASURES

The masterpieces of the false-measure manufacturer, however, are those worked out in the metal cans and measures. A "five-gallon" can suitable for milk or oil is supplied to the trade, for instance, with a cleverly contrived inner can, very difficult to detect, which reduces its capacity 20 per cent. In a recent raid one of these cans was secured which showed still further "improvement." A small can, holding but one gallon, had been introduced, which was



SPRING SCALES USED BY JUNKMEN

(The scale on the left shows the front in correct position; on the right is shown the same scale with the front pulled down so that the pointer is far below the zero mark. Fifteen pounds placed on the right-hand scale would register zero)

cast advertising literature demonstrating how tradesmen may profit by the use of their "fast" scales and giving definite figures. Several dealers have called on Commissioner Driscoll to report the visits of well-dressed, plausible salesmen, representing the scales manufacturers, who have sought to instruct them how to swindle their customers.

The tricks of the scale trade are particularly insidious. One set of scales is built with a bar so adjusted that if it be so much as touched by a corner of the meat hanging over the side, it will run the weight up an extra pound or so. Other scales will run "fast" if the weights be placed on the edge of the tray. There are other marvelously ingenious computing scales which perform the mental processes of the tradesman, and, if desired, compute dishonestly.

It is believed that the customer could be safeguarded if all these scales were regulated by a mechanical contrivance, a special wrench, for instance, which would not be supplied to dealers. A correct counter-balance scale, again, should have a base formed of a single piece of steel, forming a perfect parallelogram, whereas they are commonly made in two

pieces. The purchaser may well be suspicious of all the scales with dials turned from the purchaser. Many hucksters use double scales, one for appearances, and the other for weighing. A rigid inspection, such as is common in European cities, is advocated.

SHORT-WEIGHTING EVEN WITH TRUE SCALES

There are many methods of short-weighting in common practice in which the scales play no part. These methods are so subtle that it is exceedingly difficult to catch or convict the dealers who employ them. We have all, for example, seen the clerk throw a piece of meat upon the scales, causing them to vibrate violently. While the customer waits impatiently for the arrow on the dial to come to rest, a clerk steps forward with apologies for the delay, steadies the scales with a skillful hand, and lifts a clear half-pound out of the customer's pocket into his own.

The universal method of ordering by telephone makes the position of the "honest" butcher unassailable. A five-pound steak, for example, is ordered and paid for, but reaches the customer a good pound short in weight. If a complaint be made, the butcher explains that the difference represents the trimmings. While there is a certain legitimate loss here, it is very commonly exaggerated, and since the butcher keeps the trimmings it is impossible to get evidence.

The public loses an enormous amount annually through the short weight in hams. Thousands of hams examined in New York recently were found to be 10, even 20 per cent. under weight. The hams, the dealers explain, have shrunken. Here is another elastic factor which in the hands of an unscrupulous dealer is often turned against the customer.



HOW THE SMALL RETAILER SOMETIMES DEPRESSES HIS SCALE-PAN

(The weights are usually attached by a longer wire concealed behind the counter)

HOW MANY POUNDS IN A POTATO BARREL?

The fraud in selling potatoes is equally startling. A barrel of potatoes, under the law, should weigh 174 pounds, but of the 15,000 barrels of potatoes shipped to New York daily scarcely one is honest. The average barrel of potatoes shipped from Norfolk, one of New York's main supplies, at present holds but 132 pounds. This loss of 25 per cent. has been borne with criminal good nature for years. Since the present agitation for honest measures began, the potato dealers have been taken to task for the deception. Far from being repentant, however, they justify themselves by saying that the 132-pound potato barrel is a "trade custom," and that if the consumer insists upon honest measure, the growers will be so indignant that they will boycott New York and a serious potato famine will result.

DISHONEST "POUND" PACKAGES

The practice of selling goods by the package, rather than by the pound or pint, has greatly increased the profits of the dishonest packer. A box or tin attractively wrapped and displayed tempts the average housewife, who

investigations have shown that these "pound" packages are usually from 10 to 40 per cent. short.

Many of these packages are so obviously dishonest that they are sold only in the rush-hour trade. In the hurry and confusion of the moment the customer is less critical. The purchaser of flour or sugar should be particularly cautious in accepting the package which is ready wrapped. The olive oil bottle, again, has been growing steadily smaller; the one-pound box of candies is likely to be outrageously short-weighted, and the list may be continued indefinitely. The purchaser should obviously have his own scales and insist upon honest weights. Such conditions are by no means limited to New York. Mr. Reichmann's investigations throughout the State indicate the presence of identical conditions in many cities.

FRAUD IN THE DRY-GOODS TRADE

Although the recent investigations have been directed mainly toward the dealers in groceries and provisions dry-goods trade conditions are equally serious. Honest measures are rare in sheets or blankets, laces or linens. Commissioner Driscoll recently bought sheets at several leading New York stores only to find that

Mark	Call No.	Quantity	Description	Actual size in inches, width and length	Marked size	Custom House measure	Square Yards per Doz., piece or Set	Total Square Yards	I	Chief value Cotton	Threads per inch, Warp & filling counted, over $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. under $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. per Yd.	Price	Amount	Total-Amount	
4396	4113	40014	unwoven Taffeta	20	21	20	39	5.37	215	34	66	103	-	3.65	146.00
			25 lb. Taffeta	38	37	35	35	5.37	215	34	66	103	-	4.60	128.00
	4119	28	" " " "	22	23	22	35	5.15	200	34	66	103	-	4.35	52.00
	4117	12	" " " "	24	22	21	34	6.61	79	34	66	103	-	4.00	128.00
	4115	32	" " " "	20	22	21	31	6.05	193	34	66	103	-	3.80	152.00
	4245	40	" " " "	20	21	20	31	5.74	230	34	66	103	-	3.40	54.40
	4145	16	" " " "	29	28	27	30	5.28	84	34	66	103	-	4.70	18.90
	4337	4	" " " "	21	22	21	33	6.41	26	34	66	103	-		

PART OF A PAGE FROM AN ACTUAL INVOICE OF AN IMPORTING HOUSE, SHOWING THAT EACH ARTICLE HAS THREE DIFFERENT SIZES

(Collector Loeb is breaking up this long-established practice)

accepts it at its face value. Even when such a package weighs a pound, the customer pays high for the heavy paper package, but even this reasonably honest weight is very rare. Mr. Driscoll has said that there are not three groceries in New York where every pound package contains a pound. The retailer is, of course, often the victim of the packer. Inves-

those marked 72x90 inches were considerably under size. The bill of lading of one of the largest and most highly respected houses in the country was found to contain three columns for stating the "measurements": one for "Actual Size," another for "Marked Size" and a third for "Custom-House Measurement."

Confronted with the evidence, the firm

frankly acknowledged the deception but organized and perform efficient service. There pleaded that it was a "trade custom," which are many county as well as town officers and had been in common practice for fifty years. To force the dealers to abide by their own markings, it was argued, would work great inconvenience to the trade. The great firm which practiced this deception had no share in the dishonest profits. The responsibility lay with the manufacturer. The fact that the wholesaler had guilty knowledge of this deception and was a party in defrauding the consumer, throughout the country, is disregarded.

THE CHICAGO FEE SYSTEM

A serious and well-directed effort is being made to safeguard the public in Chicago. As far back as 1903 the city department of weights and measures was investigated, when it was found to be inefficient, and a thorough reorganization took place. Two years ago Mr. John Kjellender, of the department, visited New York to study local conditions. The Chicago bureau works upon the fee system. It examines scales once a year, and some \$10,000 is annually collected in this way. A fine is also collected for violations. In a single year the Chicago department paid its running expenses and cleared \$7000. It is estimated that the New York department, if run on this principle, with its present activity, would bring in something like \$250,000 a year.

INSPECTION IN OTHER CITIES

The various bureaus regulating weights and measures throughout New England are well

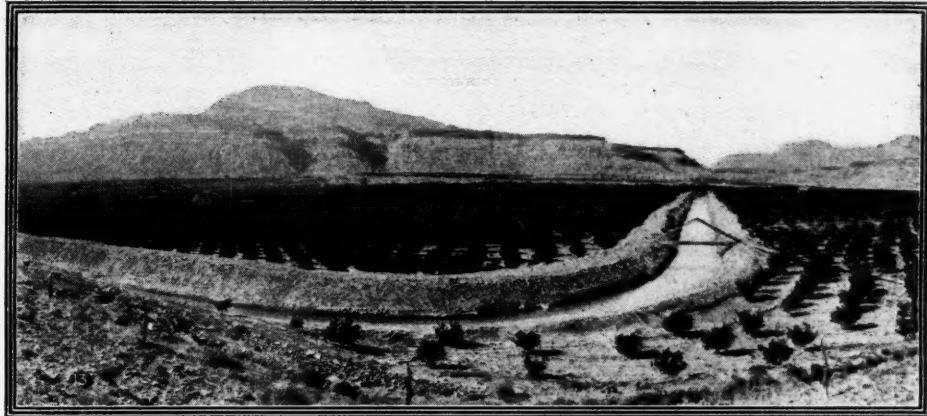
organized and perform efficient service. There are many county as well as town officers and the field is well covered. These officials adjust and repair faulty scales upon the fee system. In Boston the work is carried further and one-half the staff is engaged in testing and sealing milk-bottles. Last year fully 800,000 such tests were made. Throughout New England all prosecutions for short weights and measures are criminal. The plan has been found to work well in practice.

The supervision of weights and measures in the District of Columbia is especially well organized. As a result of the present agitation plans are being considered for organizing a department in Philadelphia, and starting a crusade along the lines of Commissioner Driscoll's work in New York. Nearly all large cities throughout the country have more or less efficient bureaus for regulating weights and measures. In comparison with the energetic house-cleaning being carried on at present by Commissioner Driscoll in New York, however, most of their operations appear careless or perfunctory.

The proportion of careless or dishonest dealers in American cities is doubtless as a rule no greater and no less than in New York. The manufacturers of "fast" scales do not depend alone upon New York for their custom. The package system of selling goods is of course common to the entire country. Since New York is the great distributing center for the wholesale trade, the proportion of short weights and measures now brought to light indicates the condition in retail stores of every class over a very wide area.



A "FIVE-GALLON" CAN CONTAINING SMALL CAN WHICH IS DRAWN UP BY A STRING TO THE OPENING AND MADE TO DO DUTY



PEACH ORCHARDS IN THE GRAND RIVER VALLEY, COLORADO—IRRIGATION HAS MADE THIS FORMER DESERT INTO FRUIT LAND OF THE FIRST RANK

(The right of way for the canal cost \$7000 per acre. Irrigated orchard land in the Grand River Valley brings from \$2500 to \$4000 an acre. Under irrigation, Colorado peaches bring on an average a profit of \$150 to \$250 per acre; pears, \$200 and \$300; and apples as high as \$1000)

ADVERTISING THE STATE OF COLORADO

WE begin with a recent letter from Mr. J. R. Johnson, of Marquette, Kansas, to the Colorado State Board of Immigration at Denver. It is not the conventional communication one would address to an ordinary State Board:

Your kind letter of May 26 at hand and contents fully noted. Also the booklets on Colorado. Please accept my thanks for your kindness in giving me the information I was seeking. I have received letters from various other parties in the fruit districts of Colorado. I think I shall accept your invitation and procure a home seeker's ticket, and come to Colorado some time this summer or fall to see the fruit country.

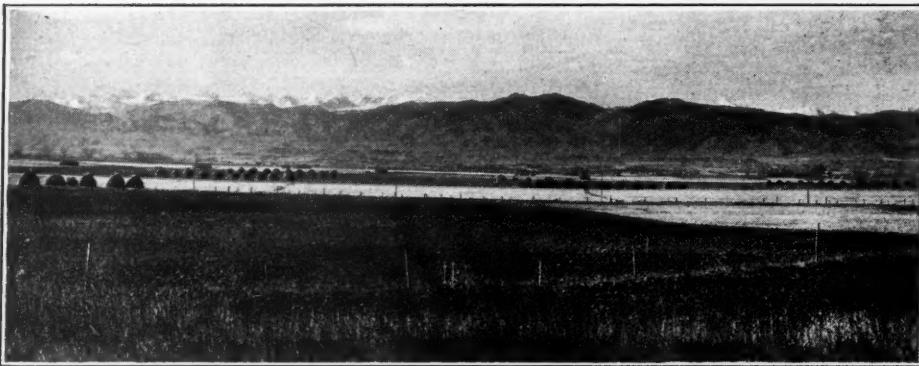
The State of Colorado, however, was extremely glad to hear from Mr. Johnson. In fact, his letter was a result of a campaign made upon him and thousands more like him. To get that letter, the State had produced a weekly newspaper; had corresponded with local bodies; had produced booklets; had caused personal letters, and circular letters, and "follow-up" letters to be written, in the most approved modern advertising styles; had placed announcements in newspapers and magazines and trade periodicals; had arranged with railroad companies for special rates, and with railroad officials for personal co-operation with inquirers. All this machinery has been put in active and successful operation within

the last four months by the Colorado State Board of Immigration.

Though such ultra-modern methods are blazing a new trail in State activities, the principle illustrated is a well-known one. Years ago, for instance, a Wisconsin commission did effective work in bringing laborers from Europe.

Colorado's present aggressive appeal carries a double interest. Not only has it, in itself, a wide potentiality for hundreds of thousands to whom the West hitherto has seemed a dream merely, but public-spirited people everywhere will follow its energetic methods as a possible solution of many old problems. These efforts indicate a means of filling once again with human voice and movement the silent and deserted farms of New England. They suggest channels through which a laboring class may be drawn into the South. Of course, they are of vital concern to all those at work to turn the vitalizing tide of immigration into other semi-arid States, like Idaho and Utah. Parts of these are to-day the same blistered and unfruitful spots which much of Colorado was until irrigation turned it to a garden spot.

Why Colorado has struck out so boldly from the beaten tracks of other States has been concisely explained by her present Governor, John H. Shafroth, at the invitation of



A ROCKY MOUNTAIN STATE BECOMING AN AGRICULTURAL LEADER

the REVIEW. From Governor Shafrroth's communication we quote the following:

The figures gathered by the members of our Agricultural School faculty are an answer in themselves to Colorado's campaign for greater population. They show that a total of \$32,616,142 for agricultural products were consumed in Colorado and produced in other states during the last year. Yet we have land on which all of these imported agricultural products can be raised even more profitably than elsewhere. Our acres under irrigation produced the most remarkable crops in the history of the country, while there are 4,000,000 acres more in Colorado that can be placed under irrigation at once, and which are not now producing crops at any time.

THE BOARD, THE STATE, AND THE WORK

The conditions that confront the Immigration Board are as unusual as its methods. Inquiry leads one to the great need of Colorado for the development of her vast resources as Governor Shafrroth points out; leads to her change from a mining to an agricultural State; and to the importance of irrigation. It leads to orchards that were Rocky Mountain barrens a few years ago, but now rank with the highest priced apple lands in Oregon or California or New York; to fields whose yields of wheat and oats and sugar-beets set high records. It leads, finally, to the aggressive methods of that State Immigration Board which is showering information about Colorado's attractions to the settler wherever it will do the most good.

The board itself is the outgrowth of a private body called the Colorado State Commercial Association. It developed to the dignity of a State Board created by act of the legislature in 1909. Its purposes are defined as follows by its enabling act: "Fully to advertise the resources of the State of Colorado among the people of other States and nations

so that by immigration and investment the development of the State may be stimulated and the population increased." In other words, to enter the advertising field.

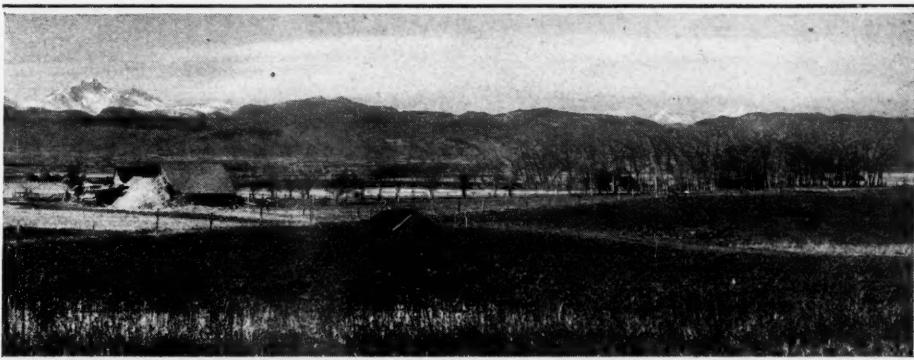
Thus constituted, its members are Governor Shafrroth, president; former Governor Alva Adams, of Pueblo; D. C. Dodge, of Denver, and T. T. Mahoney, of Grand Junction, all of whom have been actively interested for years in the development of the State. Alfred Patek, the Commissioner, who has specialized on agriculture by reclamation, is in direct charge of the work.

THE FARMER THE FIRST PROBLEM

The board's first task must be with the farmer. Potential and untried and waiting are literally millions of acres in Colorado ready to spring into splendid fruitfulness.

But "It will take 30,000 additional farms simply to supply Colorado's cash market," says Governor Shafrroth, "and we have room for several hundred thousand farmers who will be able to supply the markets of neighboring States or of the Far East, should the land now lying untouched be put under cultivation. Colorado needs 50,000 farmers alone who are expert swine growers and feeders; Colorado needs at least 5000 men who are expert in egg production. We need more orchardists. We have on our western slope thousands of acres of land which can be made as rich and profitable as any of those which are now producing the finest fruit in the world. If there were a sufficient number of men to grow grapes, Colorado could not alone fully supply its own market, but could fill the demand in all other mountain States."

An erroneous impression exists that Colorado is, characteristically, a mining State. This may have been true in those other



ONE HUNDRED WHEAT STACKS IN SIGHT OF LONG'S PEAK, COLORADO

days before the wand of irrigation changed it at a touch into a great producing center for the growing things of earth. The production of its farm, range and orchard products in 1909 was the most remarkable in its history. Governor Shafrroth quotes the value of cattle raised as over \$15,000,000, of hogs \$5,631,000, of sheep \$5,700,000, of horses \$6,130,000, of dairy products \$28,000,000, of sugar beets \$7,500,000, of potatoes \$6,150,000. Its forage and hay crops amounted to approximately \$19,000,000. It produced \$2,000,000 worth of poultry and eggs. Its beet-sugar product was \$12,600,000 and its fruit had a value of \$8,543,000.

The State reports on agricultural products as a whole give the output of these at \$84,135,550, dairy products at \$28,000,000, and live stock, wool, hides, etc., at \$36,281,000, or \$148,416,550 for all combined. The mineral output for 1909 was but \$32,211,527.

IRRIGATION NOW A SCIENCE

Irrigation is the Aladdin's lamp that has transformed Colorado from a mining to a farming State. Naturally, the Immigration Board's attention is concentrated on advertising the achievements and possibilities in the scientific application of water to Colorado soil.

Then, fresh attention has been called to Colorado's importance agriculturally through the reclamation work now being carried on by the federal Government and by private enterprise. Up to January, in 1910, the Government had expended in reclamation by irrigation in the State \$3,956,014 of the total appropriation of \$9,865,000. The remainder is to be used as soon as it is available. The expenditure by private enterprises has amounted to several times this sum.

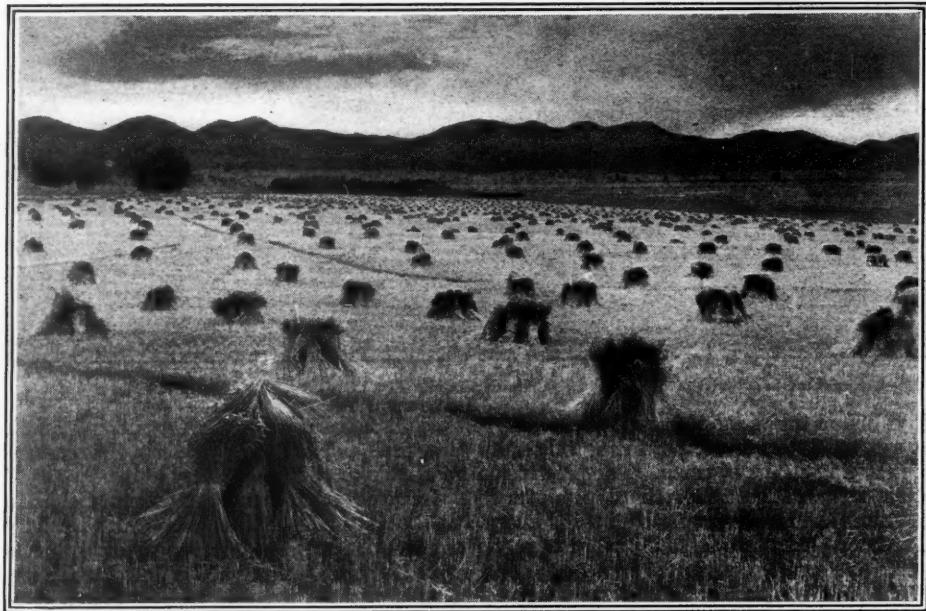
"To-day," remarks Governor Shafrroth,

"Colorado has 2,317,255 acres under irrigation, practically all of them producing the most remarkable crops in the history of the country."

Back in the other years when Colorado was largely a burnt and desert land, many small and irresponsible irrigation projects were launched which were doomed to failure. Such projects have embraced perhaps 500,000 acres up to date. They, however, were largely born in the days before irrigation took its place as a science. No Government enterprise has ever failed, nor have any organized under what is termed an irrigation district. This is formed under the laws of the State, and under it the farmers and landowners of the district come together and vote upon the proposal of assessing themselves for the expenses necessary to irrigate. While there are no specific records available, it is estimated that practically all of the 475,220 acres, for the reclamation of which the various irrigation districts have been formed, have become tillable. Mr. John F. Field, a Denver civil engineer who has given special attention to the subject, calculates that the storage of flood waters in immense reservoirs for use in the drier periods would allow a further development of from 400,000 to 500,000 acres.

RECORD-BREAKING CROP YIELDS

Now for some actual results, in bushels and dollars, from the slender streams made by man to turn through fields once arid. The records which the Immigration Board has been spreading need no sensational headlines to draw any farmer's attention. One of the most striking of these tables shows that the yield per acre, and value per acre, of wheat, oats, barley, potatoes, and hay run from 50 to 100 per cent. higher in Colorado than



COLORADO WHEAT ON IRRIGATED LAND

(Fifty and 60 and even 70 bushels an acre is being produced from such fields. Irrigated oats have run from 90 to 120 and 125 bushels to the acre, and barley as high as 147 bushels)

in many other of the leading crop States. These data were obtained from the Government Year Book and cover a ten-year period up to and including the crop year 1908. The average for Colorado in this table includes the irrigated and nonirrigated crop lands. The yields and values are much higher for the irrigated lands alone. Yields of wheat 50, 60 and even 70 bushels an acre; oats 90, 120, and 125 bushels per acre; barley 90, 125 and 147 bushels per acre are on record in these irrigated lands of Colorado.

Illuminative, too, in the foregoing regard is the comparative weight of oats in the same States compared with that of Colorado. Irrigated oats in Colorado often weigh 50 pounds per bushel, while in the States mentioned a bushel of oats seldom weighs more than 32 or 34 pounds. The alfalfa and hay crop for the year 1909 was \$17,600,000, according to the statistics on file in the office of the Board of Immigration. In the sugar-beet industry Colorado has worked her way to the head of all States in the Union.

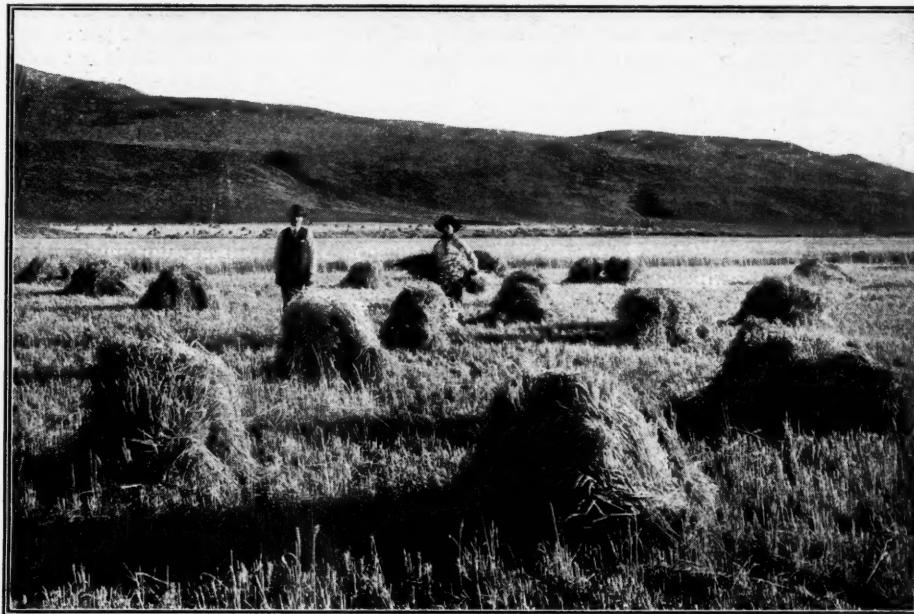
ONE APPLE TREE WORTH MORE THAN AN
ACRE OF WHEAT OR CORN

However, the thought that every agriculturist who has visited Colorado carries away

as the farming marvel of marvels is the record of irrigation-grown fruit. Apples come first.

"Single apple trees," says ex-Governor Adams, now a member of the State Board of Immigration, "produce more value than an acre of wheat in Dakota or an acre of corn in Iowa; and the products of an acre of apples enough to pay a large part of the value of an Eastern farm." Five thousand car-loads is, he estimates, the Colorado apple crop for 1909; and buyers are crying still for more. Of these the Grand Valley section shipped 2076 cars of apples last year, Delta County, 1882, Montrose County 426; thus giving to the western and irrigated portion of Colorado 4384 cars of apples out of the estimated 5000 which went to outside markets.

No wonder some of this land has sold for \$2500 to \$4000 an acre. Many of its 10 to 20-acre fruit farms give their owners \$1000 per acre in apples, pears and peaches this year—25 per cent. on the land investment. W. H. Olin, the author of a booklet, "Irrigation in Colorado," speaks of a 45-acre orchard so loaded with its fruited harvest that 50 per cent. of the trees have to be propped up. "This orchard," says Mr. Olin, "netted its owner for twelve consecutive years \$250 an acre above all expenses."



WHEAT IN THE "DRY-FARMING" SECTION OF COLORADO, TO THE EAST OF THE "DIVIDE"
(Even under "dry farming" wheat has run more than 60 bushels an acre. The most profitable industries in the "dry-farming" section are dairying and poultry raising)

It would not seem difficult for an immigration board, or anybody else, to "advertise" successfully apple orchards that average \$200 profit per acre per year. Nor are other Colorado fruits far behind. State officials estimate that the average profit in peaches amounts to from \$100 to \$250 per acre; plums, gross revenue, \$688.50 (cost of raising about 60 per cent.); pears, \$200 to \$300; cherries, \$638 (cost of raising not deducted); strawberries, \$300 to \$500 (cost of raising 50 per cent.); vinifera grapes, \$324; American grapes, \$50 to \$200; raspberries, currants, gooseberries, blackberries and dewberries all average about \$50 to \$250 (from 25 to 50 per cent. of that would be the expense of harvesting the crop, etc.); and cantaloupes, \$30 to \$75 an acre.

market will take all the produce raised by 10,000 truck-farmers." And according to official figures, Colorado yields large crops of all vegetables. Cabbage, from 10 to 20 tons an acre; tomatoes, from 6 to 10 tons; celery yields a value per acre of from \$150 to \$250 an acre, which means a clear profit of \$100 to \$150. Cabbage nets an average return of \$100 an acre, tomatoes \$50 to \$75 an acre. Onions yield an average of 4000 bushels an acre, which indicates a profit of \$107.40.

Importation of products that ought to be local is even more noticeable in the field of dairying. "Not enough dairymen!" is the cry of the board, which points out that \$5,000,000 worth of butter, cream, cheese, condensed milk, butterine, and malted milk must be shipped into Colorado from other States at the present time.

VEGETABLES NEEDED LOCALLY

THE LAY OF THE LAND

So from picturesque and productive orchards one passes to less artistic but still profitable opportunities that the Immigration Board points to. The calls for truck gardeners are insistent. "There is a local market for vegetables," writes the board, "of \$3,000,000—that being the value of the garden stuff shipped into the State in 1909. Such a

The broad face of Colorado is separated by that great Continental Divide which parts the two wide agricultural sections of the State. To the east of this natural barrier stretches away that central area which is devoted especially to "dry" farming. "On these plains," says Governor Shafroth, "dairy-

ing offers a sure income. Eleven Southern States are knocking at the doors of Colorado for its rich alfalfa to feed to their work animals, and the demand from the East for Colorado alfalfa hay and alfalfa meal is constantly growing."

Flowing through the north and south sections of the divide are the South Platte and Arkansas rivers, the manipulation of whose waters has wrought an amazing wealth. To their edges cling the great sugar-beet-growing industries, which in their own channel have given to Colorado an enviable pre-eminence. The sugar-beet plants are close here to the larger towns, and the distance of the grower to his market is small.

Even in the mountains, the production of things like iron, copper, lead and coal, cattle and grain, necessarily involves industries like smelting, iron and steel and railroad work, and sawmills. Here are packing houses for the beef made rich by the generous alfalfa. Here are flour mills to grind the grain which, springing from that virgin soil, is unsurpassed in quality. Though the manufacturing in Colorado is comparatively a small element, yet it is one which by the very evident purposes of the State Immigration Board is to be developed. In a population of 800,000 possessed by Colorado, there are 38,335 people only employed in manufacturing; 648 plants, representing an invested capital of \$108,731,900, and an output per annum of \$93,628,120.

HOW TO INCREASE THE POPULATION OF A STATE

A fairly immense job confronts the body of men who have undertaken to place settlers scientifically upon 22,000,000 acres of Government land open for purchase, and otherwise to hasten the coming of the millions of population that could wax

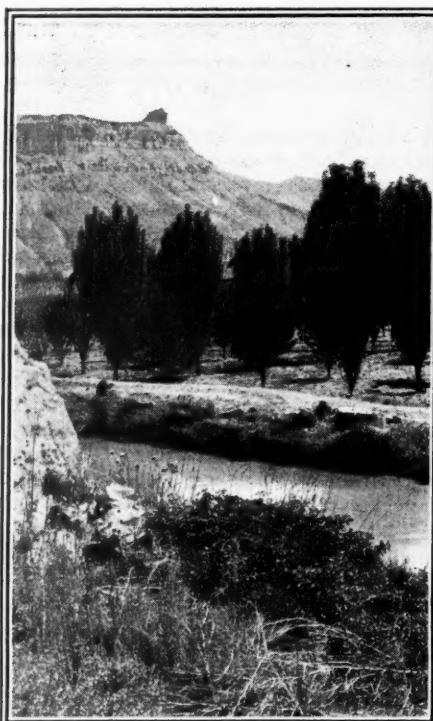
fat off Colorado's rich resources, where now are only 800,000—less than eight per square mile! But the size of the task is not more remarkable than the energy with which the Board of Immigration is going at it.

Initial advertisements appear in newspapers and trade journals among the Western and Middle Western States—experience having proved whence most of the inquiries come. In these advertisements themselves there is a moving spirit not unreminiscent of land agencies that have lands to sell (the board, of course, has none). Here is an example:

Get some fruit in Colorado. Big high-priced markets; big yields; profits \$50 to \$350 an acre. Write for information and literature on fruit lands to Colorado State Board of Immigration, the Capitol, Denver, Colorado. We are supported by the State and sell no lands.

It is natural that inquiries should follow productions as spirited as this. Whereupon the second phase of the board's advertising

abilities manifests itself in the production of the *Bulletin*—its weekly newspaper. This prints such inquiries as sound promising, and circulates them throughout the State—to local bodies and business places where they are calculated to be the most effective. The *Bulletin* is a weekly publication of four pages, steadily growing in influence. The latest number at hand publishes no less than 150 inquiries. It devotes a column to "Opportunities," gauged from Coloradoan correspondents and the wants of localities, as voiced by the local papers. "Dairymen Wanted in Plateau Country," "Wood-Pulp Print Paper, Straw-board and Starch Factories all Needed in San Luis," "Opening for a Straw-board Factory



CHERRY TREES IN THE GRAND RIVER VALLEY,
COLORADO

(After apples, cherries are one of the most profitable crops to raise under irrigation)

in Loveland," "Raw Material near La Junta," "Numerous Opportunities at Clifton," "Building of a Flour Mill would be Aided by Local People," "Dairymen are Wanted Here," are some of the headings under this column.

In the "Important Announcements" on the first page, commercial organizations are adjured to follow up these inquiries with their literature, and wherever possible to present the attractions of their respective localities by personal letters. They are warned against the heresy of "knocking" other localities of the State.

So, should you write an inquiry to Colorado the day you read this, it will be distributed through the length and breadth of that progressive State by the middle of the next week; and answers will be received from local bodies, from agents and business organizations and private individuals and state officials most qualified to meet your stated wish.

While such events are happening, however, the board itself does not remain idle. It furnishes the inquirer promptly with profuse circulars, personal letters, and booklets with titles like these:

"Irrigation in Colorado"; "Colorado's Statistics for 1909"; "Fertile Lands of Colorado"; "Thirty Thousand More Farmers Needed in Colorado"; "Colorado Guide"; "Agriculture in Colorado"; "Apples and Alfalfa," by Former Governor Alva Adams; "The Western Slope," by Governor Shafroth. These are general Colorado booklets.

Then there is the little accompanying post-card. It asks you all the questions which even an ingenious board can conceive. In what business are you now engaged? When



COLORADO STRAWBERRIES. THE AVERAGE CROP BRINGS \$300 TO \$500 AN ACRE

(The cost of raising need not exceed 50 per cent. Garden truck as well as small fruit is profitable in Colorado. Vegetable imports last year into the State were no less than \$3,000,000)

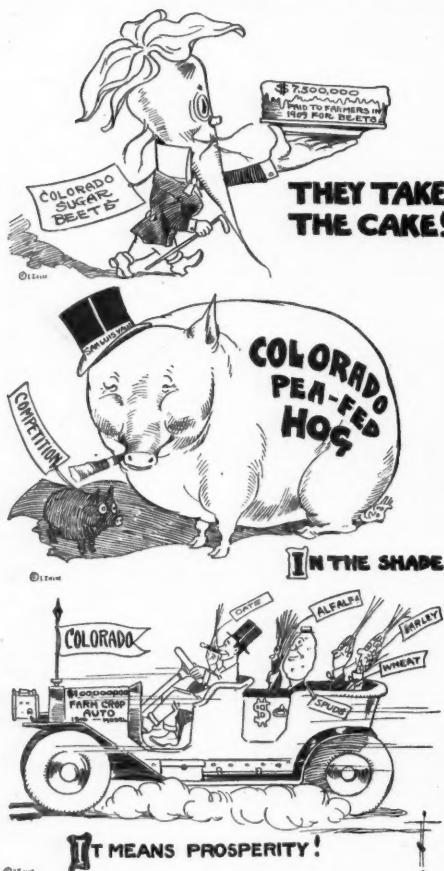
will you visit Colorado? Will you be a possible investor? Coming as a home seeker? If so, in town, city or country? As a tourist? Do you wish to secure irrigated lands? Dry-farming lands? Are you interested in opportunities for investment? Investment in mining? Or manufactures? Do you intend to buy land or a homestead? How many in your party?

A BUSINESSLIKE
"FOLLOW-UP."

Now comes the turn of the "follow-up" letters. They reflect the spirit of the most alert and modern of private organizations. If you are a truck gardener you learn the crops suited to the market of the State: whether of cabbage or celery or onions, or whatever else. You learn the prices for such products. Maybe it is fruit. To take an extract: "J. E. Morford,

near Palisade, took from 155 pear trees 755 boxes which sold at \$2 a box net, thus making a profit of \$1510 an acre." Then come the average profits per acre of crops, the prices of orchards, the easy methods of killing frost employed in Colorado, interspersed with cordial invitations which indicate that Colorado is "in to win."

Or, if you are a dairymen, or wish to raise hogs, or to know about the irrigated regions of Colorado, or the land for "dry" farming, you will receive the same minute information along your own lines. To a poultry raiser the Board writes that he is needed in Colorado to produce for the local cash market \$2,000,000 worth of eggs and \$2,000,000 worth of poultry. The history of poultry raising in the State is given; the difficulties which have been overcome are named, and successes cited. Though aggressive, the board is scrupu-



SOME OF THE SPIRITED "FOLLOW-UP" POSTAL CARDS THAT THE BOARD OF IMMIGRATION SENDS INQUIRERS

(No recipient of these striking State advertisements can forget that Colorado is now at the head of every State in beet-sugar production; that Colorado hogs brought \$5,631,000 last year; or that the total farm crops last year exceeded \$84,000,000 and this year may exceed \$100,000,000)

lously careful to protect the rights of the inquirer. While one of the writers of this article was in the office of Commissioner Patek of the board, a real estate man made a request for its *Bulletin*, which of course contains many names and addresses of inquirers. He had no commercial body to vouch for his honesty, nor connection with any organization recognized by the board. His request was refused. These lists are given only to commercial bodies whose boards of directors can be held strictly responsible by the State Board for the manner in which the lists are used.

Direct work is, however, but one side of the board's activities. The railroads have a vital interest in the increase of population in Colo-

rado. It means added traffic for the roads in passengers and freight. Therefore the *Bulletins* containing the inquiries are also sent to the trunk lines entering Denver. The freight agent who receives them either uses them or sends them to connecting lines, so that the inquirer may be seen and interviewed about his prospective removal, informed as to the possibilities of wealth lying within the State, and the exact cost of transporting all his household goods and chattels.

Another aggressive side of the board's campaign is the invasion of other states by trains, charged with Colorado exhibits, each manned by two experienced lecturers. This summer the state fairs of Nebraska, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa were visited, in addition to a wide rural district. During the day the exhibition cars were opened; at night illustrated lectures were given in halls rented for that purpose. This dash at the enemy will continue until Christmas-time.

Then there are the plans for "Letter Day." Every school teacher in the State will receive a letter from the board, briefly setting forth the advantages of Colorado. On "Letter Day" this letter will be placed on the blackboards. Then the pupils will be asked to address it to some farmer friend in the East, with a request that the State Board of Immigration be consulted at once regarding it.

Directly through the Immigration Board's activity, thousands of farmers will doubtless be led from less attractive paths into those new fields upon which moisture descends as you want it.

From the writers of this article, and from other REVIEW readers who are not Coloradans, the humiliating confession is due that if any of our own states were in such a quandary—owning enormous agricultural possibilities, yet importing agricultural products of \$32,000,000 a year—it might be a matter of years before the economic readjustment took place. Of course, our State officials might be quoted extensively in the public press with clarion calls that "something ought to be done." But in Colorado they have done it.

The crisp and common-sense and energetic work of the Immigration Board reflects the same spirit that has built up the greatest businesses of this great industrial country. In distant cities editorials are frequently written about "business methods" as applied to government. Readers smile over them as theoretical, impossible idealism. Here in Denver is one actual realization—an example worth noting.

THE RELATION OF CAPITAL TO AGRICULTURE

BY MILTON WHITNEY

(Chief of the Bureau of Soils, United States Department of Agriculture)

IN our large commercial organizations, such as the Steel Corporation, the railroads, banks, and department stores, there are few or many departments, separately organized and independent so far as the details of the work are concerned, but subject to control as to the general policies by some central directorate of business men or financiers.

One of the most important needs of to-day is the application of such control to agriculture. Only then will the money-savers of the nation, large and small, be able to "invest in farmers," as it were, exchanging their money for securities of large issues, uniformly as safe and stable as the high-grade farm mortgage is to-day, uniformly as exchangeable or negotiable as the most widely dealt-in shares on the New York Stock Exchange.

Such control can be secured by capital in agriculture in one of two directions, either of which will secure to the farmer his independence as to his daily occupation and individual development, an independence which must be guarded under our social and political system; at the same time it will secure to capital the confidence that its projects in the largest sense are certain of fulfillment.

INCREASING THE CORN YIELD

The farm value of the corn crop of the United States is \$1,720,000,000. It is now definitely known through the soil surveys, with which I have the honor to be connected, what are the best corn soils in different parts of the country. Not all of the best corn soils are producing to anything like their fullest capacity, for lack of capital and intelligent direction of labor. Much of the corn crop is grown on soil adapted to other crops, and on which there is little chance of commercial success with corn. On the best corn soils the yields could be largely increased with better equipment and intelligent control of labor; and with proper control of the labor capital could safely be invested to provide the necessary equipment. The investments should be made only in consideration of certain obliga-

tions capable of enforcement under penalty if the proper agricultural methods are not followed. Such help could be extended wherever soils are particularly adapted to any of the important crops under suitable restrictions and direction, and wherever the labor (*i. e.*, the farmers) is desirous of benefiting by the use of both capital and intelligent directive control.

FARMING LARGE AREAS AS UNITS

The other method of operation which lends itself to smaller or larger enterprises is to organize any definite area, such as a valley along the Mohawk in New York State, and plan without regard to existing farm boundaries for the best use of all the soils of the area. The use and capacity of such soils having been worked out as a whole, each farm would have its own obligations, compliance with which would entitle it to capital under penalties and to share in increased profits. This would involve an organization to control the farming operations of the entire area, directing what crops and industries shall be developed, providing and distributing labor, and directing disposition of the products. As to whether the individual farmer should draw his profits on a pro rata basis or under some other equitable arrangement is a detail to be adjusted by the particular circumstances. Obviously the contracts with individual farmers should run for a series of years and should be guarded with such penalties as to insure the complete carrying out of the scheme of operation described in the contract under which the investment is made.

For the best development of agriculture there must be an organized coöperation of effort between the various agencies of agriculture, capital, transportation, and State and federal effort.

WHY FARMING FAILS TO ATTRACT CAPITAL

Agriculture is one of the large industries of the country. There is no business to-day

which could better utilize capital, or use it more profitably, if modern business methods of organization can be introduced. With the exception of a few partly organized lines, such as dairying, cattle-raising on large ranches, fruit-raising, truck-growing, rice-production, and to a small extent tobacco-growing, which perhaps in the aggregate absorb one or two hundred million dollars, agriculture does not offer capital what the latter regards as a safe or practicable line of industrial development.

With the highly organized lines of industrial effort it is becoming less and less difficult to invest surplus funds in the so-called industrial enterprises. Factories, mines, and railroads are run on capital furnished by banks, by trust and investment companies, and by individuals investing their surplus funds, all through securities which are uniform within large issues of many million dollars apiece; whereas the average farm mortgage is only for a few thousands, and no two farm mortgages are precisely alike. Besides, a mortgage is merely a loan, and what capital in the large way demands is a share in profits, like stock.

Adequate labor can be secured easily for the factories and the rest, much of the supply even being drawn from the farms, because the work is systemized and organized, which involves a classification and segregation of labor and of individual effort.

Money has been readily invested in these highly organized industries because of two facts: (1) the material and processes are understood and control is certain, and (2) labor can be obtained and is under directive control, consequently the products of labor are certain.

These conditions must be realized in agriculture before capital can or should invest; and to show that they can and should be realized at this period of our national life is the object of this paper. That these conditions can be realized by efforts of agriculture alone is doubtful. That they can be realized by a combination of existing agencies, including agriculture and capital, is not doubtful, nor is it doubtful that the result would be to the mutual advantage of both agriculture and capital.

Agriculture for the most part is unorganized and conducted by individual effort (1) because the material—the soil—has not generally been understood by the individual worker, or if understood lack of capital has supervened; therefore the control of material has been uncertain; and because (2) the labor, inadequate in amount at all times, is without classification or segregation, and under no

intelligent directive control; so that the products of labor are uncertain.

The primary reason for these conditions in the past is not difficult to understand. The country has been rapidly settling up and the methods of the pioneer have of necessity and rightly prevailed. But the West has now been settled in outline; the whole country is at last under agricultural occupation.

WHY FOOD STUFFS ARE HIGH THOUGH CROPS ARE LARGE

Crop production in the aggregate is phenomenally large; nevertheless, just as this point has been reached in our national life, the price of food stuffs is phenomenally high. This condition marks a transition point between the pioneer methods of the past and those of a new era which of necessity is approaching, and which will involve more intelligent control and more stable conditions of agriculture to provide for the constantly increasing population. The State of New York has led in the pioneer work, it has the largest markets of non-agricultural consumers, and it is the State which should lead in more intelligent development in the future.

The settling up of the West has not only absorbed all of our farmer immigrants in the past, but has also drawn heavily on the farming population of the Eastern States. To revive agriculture in these States will require a stable labor, for which at present immigrants must be used.

Let us now analyze the main details of agricultural production, comparing them with industrial enterprises, and then consider how it can be systemized.

COMPARATIVE VALUE OF FARM PRODUCTS

The farm value of all crops and live-stock products in 1909 as estimated by the Secretary of Agriculture was \$8,760,000,000. As an industrial item it is surpassed only by the total gross value of all products of manufactures which, according to the Bureau of the Census, amounted in 1905 to \$14,800,000,000.

The gross earnings of all railroads in 1907 made a total of \$2,589,000,000. The gross value of all mineral products in 1908 was \$1,595,000,000. To give even a more striking comparison of the magnitude of our agricultural products, it may be recalled that the national bank loans on July 15, 1908, amounted to \$4,615,700,000.

The details of our agricultural production are equally interesting. Corn is being pro-

duced to the value of \$1,720,000,000, which is nearly as large as the iron and steel and their manufactured products, or the textile industries, and is larger than lumber and its remanufactures. Yet capital as such is not available in the production of corn. The farm value of the cotton crop is \$850,000,000, which is equal to the gross value of the products of paper and printing. The farm value of the wheat crop is \$725,000,000, larger than the gross value of leather and its finished products. Yet these farm values are nearly independent of capital in organized form.

The details of our principal crops are given in the following table:

ESTIMATED FARM VALUE OF ALL AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS, 1909

Crop	Approximate Values
Corn.....	\$1,720,000,000
Cotton.....	850,000,000
Wheat.....	725,000,000
Hay.....	665,000,000
Oats.....	400,000,000
Potatoes.....	212,000,000
Tobacco.....	100,000,000
Sugar.....	95,000,000
Barley.....	88,000,000
Flaxseed.....	36,000,000
Rice.....	25,000,000
Rye.....	23,000,000
Hops.....	8,000,000
All other crops not specified.....	753,000,000
All crops.....	\$5,700,000,000
All animal products.....	3,000,000,000
Total farm products.....	\$8,700,000,000

These crops are produced mainly on the annual profits of the individual growers.

Compare with this the details of the manufacturing industries supported largely by capital, as shown in the following table:

GROSS VALUES OF PRODUCTS OF MANUFACTURES,¹ 1905

Food and kindred products.....	\$2,845,234,900
Iron and steel and their products.....	2,176,739,726
Textiles.....	2,147,441,418
Lumber and its remanufactures.....	1,223,730,336
Chemicals and allied products.....	1,031,965,263
Miscellaneous industries.....	941,604,873
Metals and metal products, other than iron and steel.....	922,262,456
Paper and printing.....	857,112,256
Leather and its finished products.....	705,747,470
Vehicles for land transportation,.....	643,924,442
Liquors and beverages.....	501,266,605
Clay, glass, and stone products.....	391,230,422
Tobacco.....	331,117,681
Shipbuilding.....	82,769,239
Total.....	\$14,802,147,087

¹Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1908, Department of Commerce and Labor.

Practically all of these industries are built up on capital invested for the purpose of developing commercial operations to the highest possible degree of efficiency.

A GUIDE FROM THE BUREAU OF SOILS

To commercialize agriculture and make it a safe line of investment for capital the material—the soil—must be understood and its use determined. This is accomplished through the agency of the Soil Survey of the Bureau of Soils of the National Department of Agriculture. This service is engaged in the classification and mapping of soils and the determination of the use of the several soil types and the crops best adapted to them. This work is of exactly the same fundamental importance to agriculture as the study of material and its use has been in the development of manufacturing industries; in a broad way, it has been brought to as high a degree of efficiency. It is the extension and practical application of the land classification on which the Department of the Interior has been engaged for many years. In the State of New York alone accurate soil maps have been made of 8000 square miles.

THE PROBLEM OF FARM LABOR

To commercialize and build up agriculture in the Eastern States will require additional stable labor, which at present must be drawn from the immigrant farmers. The classification, segregation, and distribution of these immigrants is the work of the Division of Information in the Bureau of Immigration of the Department of Commerce and Labor, and through this channel an adequate supply of farm labor should be secured. The location of the immigrant farmer as determined by the local soil and labor conditions is the work of the corresponding State agencies.

The great transcontinental transportation systems, with the active coöperation of the Eastern railroads, have recognized the value of the immigrant and have utilized him in developing and using the soil resources of the West. The time has now come when the Eastern railroads can with profit look to using a part of the immigrant supply in developing and utilizing through intensive culture the soil of their own states.

It remains to show that the proper use of the soil can be secured and labor be properly directed in coöperation with capital, in order to insure that reasonable degree of success required of other commercial enterprises.

OUGHT THE RAILROADS TO ADVANCE RATES?

BY SAMUEL O. DUNN

TWO years ago the railroads of the United States announced that they were going to make general advances in their freight rates. The shippers of the country vigorously opposed this. The business depression that followed the panic of 1907 lay heavily on commerce and industry; and the shippers contended that a raise of railroad rates would increase and protract it. Their opposition was successful.

Prosperity has returned. The railroads again propose to make general raises in their freight rates, and in the East some are also trying to raise their passenger rates. Again they meet with strong opposition. Those who oppose advances in rates now argue that, prosperity having returned, the roads do not need higher rates. The railroads will not this time, after a noisy flourish of trumpets, retire tamely from the field, as they did in 1908. Prices, and particularly those of railroad supplies, have more than recovered from the effects of the panic of 1907. The railroads since early in 1910 have made large increases in the wages of their employees, many being directly or indirectly in pursuance of decisions of arbitration boards organized under the federal arbitration act. Public sentiment toward the roads seems more friendly than two years ago. The railway managers therefore think that now is as proper and propitious a time as they ever will have vigorously to urge their claim for higher rates.

That this move of the railroads arouses the public to keen interest and many travelers and shippers to vocal, stubborn antagonism is not surprising. The total bill of the country for railroad transportation in the year ended June 30, 1909,—the last for which statistics of the Interstate Commerce Commission are available,—was the big sum of \$2,418,677,538. Of this \$1,677,614,678 was paid for the carriage of freight and \$563,609,342 for the carriage of passengers; the rest for the transportation of mail, express, etc. An average advance of 10 per cent. in freight and passenger rates would, therefore, increase the country's annual transportation bill over \$200,000,000; an average advance of but 5 per cent. would increase it over \$100,000,000. The demand of the carriers for higher rates is important not only because of the large amount of money involved but also

because it seems a radical departure in railway policy. The almost uniform course of our roads until recent years was steadily to reduce rates; and this fostered the hope among many that their tendency always would be, and the belief that it always ought to be, downward. The efforts of railway managers to reverse this tendency comes as a kind of shock to the public. In the circumstances the burden of proof properly is laid on the roads. They cannot expect travelers or shippers to submit to, the Interstate Commerce Commission to allow, or public opinion to indorse general advances in rates until they shall be justified by facts and sound logic.

RAILROAD WAGE INCREASES

The corner stone of the argument advanced for higher rates is the heavy increases that have been and still are taking place in railroad expenses. In 1900 there were 1,017,653 employees on railway pay-rolls; and the total wages paid them annually amounted to \$577,264,841, or \$567 per employee. In 1909 the number of employees had grown to 1,502,823 and the wages paid them to \$988,323,694, or \$651 per employee; and in 1910 the roads have made further increases which raise the average annual wage to fully \$700, or 23 per cent. more than it was ten years ago. The number of employees in the busy year 1907 was 1,672,074, and their average annual wage \$604, or \$6 less than the present average. It is probable the number of employees is now, or soon will be, as great as in 1907. If so, the railways are, or soon will be, paying for the same amount of labor as they had three years ago, \$158,500,000 more than they paid for it then.

INCREASED COST OF EQUIPMENT

The increases in the prices of railway materials and equipment have been as remarkable as the increases in wages. The following figures are representative prices actually paid in the years mentioned by one of the largest and best-managed railroads in the country, with the percentages of increase in them, the data being fragmentary because the purchases of this

road, like those of most roads, had not been very great or varied up to the middle of the present calendar year:

COMPARATIVE COSTS OF EQUIPMENT,
1900 AND 1910

Cars	Cost in 1900	Cost in 1910	Per cent. increase 1910 over 1900
Box	\$503.65	\$677.00	34.41
Furniture	588.00	731.54	24.41
Stock	510.65	622.70	21.94
Refrigerator	880.14	939.44	6.74
Flat	453.53	760.00	67.58
Gondola	532.00	637.00	19.74
Ore	584.75	815.55	39.47
Caboose	714.25	1,090.00	52.67
Locomotives			
Freight	13,000.00	18,825.00	44.80
Switching, 6-wheel	9,550.00	12,200.00	27.15

in 1909 it was 1.928 cents. A very careful check of the *actual* rates made by C. C. McCain, chairman of the Eastern Trunk Line Committee, has shown that the average earnings per ton per mile accurately reflect the true freight-rate situation, and that the reductions made in specific rates during the past thirteen years have offset the advances.

TRANSPORTATION HAS REALLY DECLINED
IN PRICE

The *nominal* price, or cost, of a thing is the amount of money it exchanges for. Its *real* price, or cost, is the amount of commodities or services that it buys, or that are required to buy it. Now, while the nominal price of trans-

COMPARATIVE COST OF MATERIAL IN 1900, 1907, AND 1910

Class of Material	Cost 1900	Cost 1907	Cost 1910	Per cent. increase 1910 over 1907	Per cent. increase 1910 over 1900
Track or cross ties, oak	\$0.43	\$0.60	\$0.65	8.3	44.4
Track or cross ties, cedar	.21	.55	.54	2.0 Dec.	161.9
Switch ties, oak	17.50 M	25.50 M	28.00 M	9.7	59.4
Lumber, yellow pine	18.00 M	20.00 M	22.00 M	10.0	22.2
Bridge lumber	15.00 M	27.20 M	27.20 M	81.3
Angle bars	1.15 cwt.	1.60 cwt.	1.50 cwt.	6.2 Dec.	30.4
Track bolts and nuts	1.70 cwt.	2.45 cwt.	2.15 cwt.	12.2	26.4
Track spikes	1.20 cwt.	1.90 cwt.	1.80 cwt.	5.2	50.0
Steel rail, new	18.00 ton	28.00 ton	28.00 ton	55.5
Locomotive coal	1.41 ton	1.73 ton	1.88 ton	8.6	33.3
Piles, oak	.17	.18	.23	27.7	35.2
Piles, tamarack	.06	.08	.13	62.5	116.6

These advances in wages and in prices have been part of a general upward movement. There was a recession in the prices of many commodities after the panic of 1907; but the latest report of the federal Bureau of Labor states that "wholesale prices in March, 1910, were higher than at any time in the preceding twenty years, being 7.5 per cent. higher than in March, 1909, 10.2 per cent. higher than in August, 1908, 21.1 per cent. higher than the average yearly price of 1900, 49.2 per cent. higher than the average yearly price of 1897, and 33.8 per cent. higher than the average price for the ten years 1890 to 1899."

The taxes paid by railroads increased from \$46,337,632, or \$247 a mile, in 1899 to \$89,026,226, or \$382 a mile, in 1909, the total increase being 94 per cent., and the increase per mile 54 per cent.

SLIGHT CHANGES IN RATES

While, since 1897, prices, wages and taxes have been thus greatly rising, railroad rates have remained almost stationary. The average freight rate per ton per mile in 1897 was 7.98 mills; in 1900 it was 7.29 mills; and in 1909 it was 7.63 mills. The average rate per passenger per mile in 1900 was 2.003 cents; and

portation has not changed much in the last ten or fifteen years, its *real* price has greatly declined, for a given amount of transportation will buy, on the average, fully 25 per cent. *less* labor and commodities than it would in 1900 and 40 per cent. *less* than in 1897; and, on the other hand, a day's labor, a bushel of grain, 100 pounds of merchandise, a car or a locomotive, will buy, on the average, 25 per cent. *more* transportation than it would in 1900 and 40 per cent. *more* than in 1897.

Railroad managers point out that advances in prices have followed raises in wages and increases in the prices of raw materials in every industry except theirs; and that no one has questioned the right to make them. They argue that, the prices of commodities in general having risen, commerce can easily bear higher rates. If, for example, when a commodity sells for \$2 per 100 pounds, it can bear a freight rate of 10 cents, which is 5 per cent. of its price, then it can when its price increases 20 per cent., or to \$2.40, even more easily bear a rate 10 per cent. higher, which would be 11 cents, or but 4.5 per cent. of its price. Finally, the railway managers contend, the advances in wages and in the prices of materials and equipment are so augmenting the expenses of railway operation that the roads must sub-

stantially increase their earnings by means of raises in their rates in order to get and keep on a sound operating and financial basis.

FACTORS TENDING TO LOWER OPERATING EXPENSES

To the foregoing, those who oppose advances in rates answer that while the increases in the costs of railroad labor and materials have tended to increase operating expenses and reduce net earnings, two powerful forces have been working successfully in the opposite direction: (1) The rapid growth of the country's commerce has caused a great increase in the density of traffic, which, in turn, has caused a large increase in gross earnings; and at the same time has tended to make it practicable to handle each *unit* of traffic more cheaply; and (2) the splendid improvements that have been made in railroad plants and operating methods in the last decade,—such as the reduction of grades, the elimination of curves, the adoption of more powerful locomotives and cars of greater capacity, the hauling of more cars in a train,—have tended to keep down operating expenses. Unquestionably, these two forces have worked with great effect to widen the margin between gross earnings and expenses. The density of the passenger traffic of American railroads increased from 78,300 passengers hauled one mile per mile of line in 1899 to 127,300 in 1909, or 63 per cent., and the density of freight traffic from 660,000 tons hauled one mile per mile of line to 953,986, or 44 per cent. Other things being equal, an increase in the density of traffic of a railroad, until it is worked practically to its full capacity, tends to increase its earnings faster than its expenses; the railway business is one of "increasing returns." Why this is so becomes clear when one considers the obvious facts that it costs much less than twice as much to haul a full car than to haul a half-full car; that it costs much less than twice as much to run an engine pulling its maximum load of cars than to run it with half its maximum load; and that it costs much less than twice as much to maintain and renew a track that is being worked to its capacity than to maintain and renew it when worked to but half of its capacity.

INCREASED NET EARNINGS

The operating expenses of the railroads of the United States increased from \$4,570 per mile in 1899 to \$6,865 per mile in 1909, or 41 per cent. But meantime, owing to the growth of traffic, gross earnings increased from \$7,005 per mile to \$10,381, or 48 per cent. The result

of this and of improvements and economies in operation was an increase of net earnings from \$2,435 to \$3,516 per mile, or 44 per cent. This enabled the roads to pay largely augmented dividends. In 1899 they paid dividends on but 40.6 per cent. of their stock, the average dividend on *dividend-paying* stock being 4.96 per cent.; while in 1909 they paid dividends on 64 per cent. of their stock, the average dividend on *dividend-paying* stock being 6.53 per cent.

It is contended by those who oppose advances in railroad charges that the foregoing facts show that the carriers have been very prosperous, and do not need higher rates. Many assert that if the roads were not overcapitalized their present earnings would enable them to pay not only reasonable, but high, average dividends.

The facts show conclusively that in the past ten years the forces that tend to increase railway profits have triumphed over those that tend to reduce them. But this does not, as many think, decisively answer in the negative the question whether rates ought to be raised. This question can be fairly answered only after inquiry as to whether, with present rates, profits are and probably in future will remain on a level where they will attract adequate investment in railroads.

ARE THE ROADS OVERCAPITALIZED?

In 1899 no dividends were paid on 59.39 per cent. of the railroads' stock. Their earnings were then low; many were just emerging from receiverships. They had, as a whole, to climb a long way before they got on anything approaching a sound financial basis. Not until 1901 did they pay dividends on as much as 50 per cent. of their stock; and the most stock they ever did pay dividends on was 67 per cent. The largest dividends they ever declared, those of the fiscal year 1908, amounted to an average of only 5 per cent. on their total outstanding stock, which, it must be admitted, is very low for a figure representing their *maximum* dividend-payments.

Nor has their average percentage of dividends been so low because, as is often charged, they are grossly overcapitalized. The Interstate Commerce Commission stated in its preliminary statistical report for the year ended June 30, 1909, that the total amount of railroad capital, both stocks and bonds, then outstanding in the hands of the public was \$13,711,867,733, "representing," says the commission, "a capitalization of \$59,259 per mile of line." A fair valuation probably would show that it would cost a great deal more than this to reproduce

merely the physical properties. The two most thorough valuations ever made in this country were those in Minnesota and Washington. The Railroad Commission of Minnesota found in 1907 that the roads in that State were capitalized for an average of \$44,206 per mile, and placed on them a valuation of \$54,201 per mile. The Railroad Commission of Washington found in 1908 that the three important lines in that State were capitalized for \$43,012, \$44,078 and \$70,278 per mile, respectively, and placed on them valuations of \$39,000, \$67,800 and \$77,200 per mile, respectively. There have been numerous instances in this country of watering of railroad capitalization. But in most cases the water has been entirely absorbed by the making of improvements and extensions out of earnings and by increment in the value of the properties. The capitalization of the railroads of the United States is probably now the most conservative in the world. While our roads are capitalized for an average of but \$59,259 per mile, those of the Argentine Republic, for example, are capitalized for \$59,930; those of New South Wales (which were built and are operated by the state) for \$64,000; those of Canada for \$66,752; those of Germany (which are state-owned) for \$109,783; those of France for \$139,390; and those of the United Kingdom for \$275,040. While the *increase* in the net earnings and dividends of railways during the past ten years has been large, their *absolute amount* always has been, and is yet, very small as compared with those in other lines of business. That they have not been large enough to attract an adequate supply of capital into the railway business is demonstrated by the fact that there have been constant complaints for years that the expansion of transportation facilities has not kept pace with the needs of commerce.

The mileage of the railroads increased only from 187,534 miles in 1899 to 235,402 miles in 1909, or 25 per cent. Meantime their total passenger traffic increased from 14,591,327,000 passengers carried one mile to 29,109,323,000, or 100 per cent., and their freight traffic from 123,667,257,000 tons hauled one mile to 218,802,987,000, or almost 80 per cent.

HIGHER INTEREST RATES ON RAILROAD INVESTMENTS

Now, to get the new capital requisite to increase their facilities to the extent that is demanded by the growth of commerce, the carriers must be prepared to pay for it not only as high a percentage of return as, but a higher than they ever have paid or are now paying. This is largely because of the increase within

recent years in the market rate of interest. This general increase is illustrated by that which has taken place in the rate that the railroads themselves have to pay on their bonds. The average rate at which they borrowed money in 1900 was 3.75 per cent.; in 1908 it was 5.04 per cent.; and it probably is now 5.5 per cent., an increase in ten years of 33 per cent. Now, whatever raises the rate of interest on bonds and other gilt-edged securities raises the rate of dividend that must be paid on stocks. When an investor can get only 3.75 per cent. interest by loaning his money he may be willing to give par for a stock paying a dividend of only 5.5 to 7 per cent.; but when he can get 5 per cent. or more from loans on gilt-edged security he quickly becomes unwilling to invest in any stock that will not net him from 7 to 9 per cent.

Now, assuming that passenger and freight rates remained unchanged, would the resultant of the various forces that determine railroad profits be in future the increase of net earnings, which the roads need, or a decrease? As has already been shown, the increases in wages that have been made within the last three years will have the effect, when the roads again have as many employees on their pay-rolls as in 1907, of increasing their operating expenses over \$158,500,000 a year. This equals 52 per cent. of the net dividends declared in 1909. Furthermore, the prices of materials and equipment are now the highest in history and are still rising. On the other hand, increase in the density of traffic tends to increase railroad net earnings *only before a railroad is being worked to its full capacity*; for after the point of traffic saturation is reached, new tracks or lines must be built to handle the additional traffic, which involves enormous new investment. Now, there are many roads which have reached this point. Furthermore, improvements in plants and operating methods cannot be relied on to keep down operating expenses in future as they have in the past, for on many roads grades and curves have been reduced, and the size of cars, the power of locomotives and the length of trains have been increased as much as is economically practicable, or even, in many cases, physically possible. The view of the Interstate Commerce Commission as to the probable future resultant of the forces that determine railway net earnings was thus expressed by Commissioner Prouty in the recent decision in the Spokane rate case:

It is probable that at the outset the economies of operation more than outweighed the increased cost of labor and supplies, but that of late the reverse has been true. . . . It is evident that the

total result to net revenues cannot be foretold with accuracy. It is perhaps probable that the effect of increased wages and increased cost of supplies will be more seriously felt in the future than it has been in the past.

The situation, then, briefly summed up, seems to be this: The railroads require a vast amount of new capital to make the great improvements and enlargements of their facilities that are necessary to enable them properly to handle the traffic of the country; to get this capital they must pay higher rates of interest and dividends; in order to meet their increasing expenses, properly maintain their properties, and pay the higher rates of interest and dividends that capitalists demand they must earn both more gross and more net; and, unless they are allowed to advance their rates, it is probable that their net earnings not only will not increase, but will decrease.

Prices in general have risen over 21 per cent. in ten years and 50 per cent. in thirteen years. The roads are asking for increases in rates that will certainly not average over 10 per cent., and probably will average considerably less. Therefore, if the very highest average advance that has been proposed were made, rates would still be substantially lower, as compared with prices, than they were ten years ago, and very greatly lower, as compared with prices, than they were thirteen years ago.

TASK OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION

The determination of whether the railways shall be allowed to raise their rates will rest, primarily, with the Interstate Commerce Commission. Its action regarding the matter will be unprecedented in the history of this country. The Hepburn act of 1906 empowered the commission to reduce rates only after the railways had put them into effect. The Mann-Elkins act of this year authorizes it to restrain an advance in rates from being put into effect for a maximum period of ten months, while the commission is investigating whether it is justifiable; and to forbid it entirely if it shall finally be found unreasonable.

In determining whether rates shall be reduced the commission considers (1) their relation to other rates; and (2) the probable effect of a change in them on railroad earnings. It will have to give preponderant consideration to the same points in passing on the proposed advances. It must consider the relation of any rate it is proposed to advance to other rates, because, even though a railroad's earnings may be too small, the rate in question may be high enough or even excessive and unfairly discrimi-

natory and the smallness of the road's earnings be due to the extreme lowness of other rates. The factors which mainly determine the commission's decision as to the equitableness of the relation between rates are the relative amounts it *costs* the railroad to render the services for which it charges the rates, and the relative *values* of those services to those to whom they are rendered. For example, it *costs* more on the average to haul a ton of dry goods than a ton of coal, owing mainly to the fact that more tons of dry goods can be loaded in a car and that they must be given an expedited service; and, besides, the service rendered in hauling a ton of dry goods is more *valuable* to the shipper than the service rendered in hauling a ton of coal simply because the dry goods is more valuable.

The commission must consider the probable effect of its orders on railroad earnings, both because, as an administrative body, it is its duty as much as that of the President, to use its authority to promote the public welfare, and because the Supreme Court of the United States has held that railways cannot constitutionally be deprived of the right to earn a "fair return." The Supreme Court, in the Consolidated Gas Company case, indicated that 6 per cent. is the *minimum* to which a public service corporation can be restricted. Just what return the Interstate Commerce Commission regards as the *maximum* which in the interest of public expediency railways should be allowed to earn, it has never said, but in its original opinion in the recent Spokane rate case, it did express the view that the net earnings of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern, which for five or six years had averaged from 12 to 15 per cent., were excessive.

The *rates* of all competing railways must be the same; otherwise all the competitive traffic will go to the road whose rates are lowest. But the *net earnings* of competing roads vary widely; in the same territory there are found roads which are earning 20 per cent. and others that are earning nothing, or perhaps 2, 3, or 4 per cent. Now, if the commission reduces a rate it reduces the earnings of the weak as well as of the strong competing lines; and if it permits a raise of rates the earnings of the strong as well as of the weak lines will be increased. The commission has repeatedly said that where the earnings of an entire group of roads will be affected by its order, it must take into account the entire situation; it will not reduce rates because the earnings of some one road or roads in a group are high, nor refrain from reducing them because the earnings of some road or roads are already low.

FEDERAL APPROPRIATIONS: THEIR RAPID INCREASE

THE PRINCIPAL CAUSES AND HOW TO CHECK THEM

BY THE HON. JAMES A. TAWNEY

(Chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, Sixty-first Congress)

THE period since the Spanish-American War has witnessed a marvelous increase in our national expenditures. Less than nineteen years ago the people were astounded at the thought of their Government appropriating a billion of dollars during a single Congress. The explanation then was, we are a "billion-dollar country." But to-day, at a single session of Congress, a billion dollars is appropriated and it does not seem to cause the people to even pause and question the reasonableness or examine into the necessity of these largely increased expenditures.

NOT A PARTY QUESTION

While, as is usually the case, the minority party, in order to gain political advantage because of our large appropriations, seeks to charge the party in control of the Government with extravagance and waste of public money, yet the records will show there is no line of demarcation between the two parties in their demands for increased appropriations, nor any greater zeal for economy in public expenditures upon the part of the members of one party than is shown by the adherents of the other, especially when the interests of their respective localities are concerned. This is so whether those interests be in appropriations for public buildings, for river and harbor improvements, for additional and greater battleships, for military posts, for increases in salaries to curry favor with officers as well as employees of the Government, or for any of the many other activities of the federal Government in particular States or localities.

As neither political party is solely responsible for unnecessary or constitutionally unauthorized appropriations or more zealous than the other in the interest of economy, it is well for the country to seek the real causes of the tremendous growth in federal expenditures during the little more than a decade since our war with Spain. In doing so we shall also call attention to certain restrictive legislation en-

acted within the last few years, with a view to acquainting the public with what has already been accomplished by Congress in the way of reform in estimating for and in making federal appropriations, and also to what further reforms are needed to keep national expenditures within the legitimate functions of the federal Government, and to avoid unnecessary increases in the future.

THE CITIZEN INDIFFERENT TO THE BURDEN OF INDIRECT TAXES

The fundamental cause of our greatly increased expenditures is found in the fact that these expenditures are met from revenues secured indirectly—from customs duties, internal revenue taxes, and miscellaneous receipts, the burden of which the people do not directly feel. The citizen who must go into his own pocket, and therefrom contribute directly his share toward a public improvement or a public service, is not indifferent as to the necessity for such improvement or service, nor is he tardy in complaining if the weight of the burden of taxation becomes excessive in proportion to the benefits he receives. The citizen watches with jealous eye municipal and State expenditures, for he knows that with their increase he must bear his proportion of the taxes to meet them. But the farther he is, apparently, removed from the source of the public revenue, as when the revenue is secured indirectly, the less interested he is, the less familiar with the purposes for which the revenue is being expended, and the less readily is his opinion impressed upon the legislative body that authorizes the expenditure of his money.

STATE FUNCTIONS TAKEN OVER BY THE NATION

This indirectness of federal taxation and the popular belief that what the federal Government does and pays for does not come out of their pockets, give rise to the people's willingness to surrender to the federal Government functions that the States have expressly re-

served to themselves, the exercise of which involves the expenditure of money, and likewise to the eagerness with which they demand appropriations for objects which should and could just as well be undertaken and performed by their local or State governments. This tendency is therefore the result largely of the mistaken impression which the people seem to have, that in securing federal appropriations for their respective States and localities they are securing something for nothing. While it is true that this tendency is due rather to negligence than to any deliberate failure upon the part of the States to perform certain of their functions, it is none the less serious, for the remissness of the States in the performance of their proper functions gives rise to a general popular demand for remedial legislation by the federal Government as well as for federal appropriations.

With the development of transportation facilities and the resultant growth of our industries, State lines have, for all practical purposes, been obliterated. There is not an industry of any size that does not manufacture goods for shipment into other States. If the remissness of one State in dealing with its domestic affairs made itself felt only within the borders of that State, then it might be left to suffer the consequences until driven to seek a remedy. If the condition of the packing industry at Chicago affected only the people of Illinois, the federal Government would not have been appealed to to protect the health of the people generally and also to protect our foreign commerce through the enactment of the meat-inspection law. The neglect of Illinois and other States in which are located large packing plants contributed more than anything else to the enactment of that law at a cost to the whole people of more than \$3,000,000 annually. The same is true of the pure food law, for had proper State laws been enacted and enforced to safeguard the health of the people in each State there would have been no demand or necessity for a national law.

Congress in the session recently closed established a new bureau which is an instance in point. In response to a public sentiment aroused because of the failure of the States to enact proper mining laws to protect the lives of workers in mines, a national Bureau of Mines was created. The establishment of this bureau was doubly unwarranted; first, because its principal functions properly belong exclusively to the States in which mines are located and over which the federal Government has no control; and second, because the scientific investigative work in connection with

the causes of mine explosions generally was being performed efficiently by a branch of the Geological Survey.

There is now a well-organized lobby, backed by many eminent physicians of the country, seeking to secure the establishment of a new department, to be known as the Department of Health, with a Secretary in the Cabinet. The principal reason advanced for this new activity upon the part of the federal Government is the inefficiency of the States in dealing with the question of public health and hygiene. There has likewise, for some time, been a constant agitation to induce the federal Government to make large appropriations for the support of educational institutions to be located in the various Congressional districts throughout the country.

The function of promoting the public health has always been regarded as one purely local; and so also the function of providing for the education of its citizens. These functions have always, heretofore, been jealously guarded by the States and their municipalities. Should the federal Government once undertake the exercise of either one of these functions, even in a most limited manner, it would be only a question of time when it would be called upon to extend its activity into purely local fields, for the States and municipalities would then strive to secure federal aid for their hospitals and schools in much the same manner as they now seek to secure their proportion of other federal appropriations. To obtain this they would have to surrender ultimately to the federal Government the right of local self-government over their educational institutions and public-health service, for with federal appropriations for any service, whether national or local, federal administration is a necessary concomitant.

There are many other unwarranted activities now being performed by the federal Government requiring increased appropriations. These have grown from small beginnings, which were in themselves within the scope of federal functions, and have increased with the demands of certain sections of the country or of private business interests, which desire the federal Government to do things which they themselves could as well do, and should be required to do, or suffer the consequences. Certain of the activities of the United States Geological Survey furnish examples of this tendency. The Geological Survey was established primarily for the purpose of making a geological survey of the public domain. In performance of this function, topographic and geologic surveys have been made of public lands; but this work has been and is now being done in States

where there is not now a foot of public land. Municipalities and counties have been surveyed primarily in the interest of municipalities and public utility corporations, such as electric railways and water-power companies. Likewise, nonnavigable streams, which lie wholly within a single State and are, therefore, not within the jurisdiction of the federal Government, are being gauged, and this work is done principally for the benefit of localities or industrial concerns interested in water-power development.

These are but a few of the activities of the federal Government which should properly be performed either by the States or by private interests that are now the beneficiaries at the expense of the whole people. The good which may be accomplished locally by any or all of these various activities cannot be questioned; but the scope of the functions of the federal Government is not to be measured by the beneficent results which may accrue to individual States, localities, or to certain private interests, especially where the same results may be as well secured by the States whose duty it is, under their organic laws, to look after the welfare of the people within their own borders and at their own expense.

MILITARY EXPENDITURES

But by far the most serious single cause of our greatly increasing expenditures is the cost of maintaining and enlarging our military establishments. The total appropriations for the army, navy, fortifications, and military academy for 1910 were \$248,832,714.72, while the appropriations for the same purposes for 1897 were only \$61,688,477.29. The appropriations for 1910 exceeded those for 1897 by over 400 per centum. The total appropriations for all other purposes, exclusive of postal expenditures, for 1897 were \$315,253,968.90, while for 1910 they were \$560,876,772.40, or an increase of 178 per centum. In other words, the percentage of increase in expenditures for preparation for war is more than double the percentage of increase in all other expenditures, including past wars.

During the fiscal year 1909 we expended in preparation for war, that is, for our army, navy, fortifications, and other objects made necessary by our present policy, 39.4 per centum of our entire revenue for that year, exclusive of postal receipts; and on account of past wars we expended 32 per centum of our total revenues, or for both purposes 71.4 per centum, leaving only 28.6 per centum for all other governmental purposes outside of the Postal Service. While it is practically impossible to reduce our ex-

penditures on account of past wars, it is possible to reduce very greatly our expenditures in preparation for war, without jeopardizing in the least our national safety, and it is to be hoped that the enlightened intelligence of the people will, in the not distant future, demand that we cease this reckless waste indulged in merely for the gratification of an unwarranted national pride.

LACK OF BUDGET SYSTEM

Another very serious practical reason for our present large expenditures may be found in the lack of any well formulated system of preparing the estimates for public expenditures and in making the appropriations to meet the same. A step in that direction, however, has been taken. Under the practice which obtained up to March 4, 1909, the head of each executive department submitted his estimates to the Secretary of the Treasury, who was charged merely with the duty of grouping them in the "Book of Estimates" for submission to Congress at the beginning of each season. As a result of this method each department placed its estimates at the highest figure, sometimes, too, without regard to the actual needs of the service or the estimated revenues of the Government, in the hope of securing more liberal appropriations. Each department prepared its estimates, too, without regard to the necessities or the demands of other departments. It, therefore, not infrequently happened that the estimates for expenditures were far in excess of the estimated revenue, and the appropriations made by seven different committees were so large as to cause a deficit.

EXECUTIVE RESPONSIBILITY

In order to put an end to this haphazard method and to secure some coördination in the preparation and submission of estimates, the Committee on Appropriations placed in the Sundry Civil Appropriation bill, approved March 4, 1909, a provision which requires the Secretary of the Treasury, after the estimates are submitted to him, to compare their total with the estimated revenues for the ensuing fiscal year. If he finds that they are in excess of the estimated revenues, he is then required to submit them to the President, who in turn examines them. If the President, after consultation with the heads of the departments, believes that they cannot, without injury to the public service, be scaled down so as to bring them within the estimated revenue, he is then required to recommend to Congress new sources of taxation or new loans to make up the deficit.

In this way the responsibility for increased expenditures, which has heretofore rested entirely upon Congress, has been thrown, in part, upon the President and the executive departments, the heads of which are best able to determine what appropriations can, with the least injury to the public service, be reduced. The success of this provision is evidenced by the fact that the estimates submitted to Congress at the beginning of the session just closed were \$80,261,738.43 less than the estimate submitted at the beginning of the previous session, and \$44,706,231.66 less than the appropriations made by Congress pursuant to the previous year's estimates.

REDUCING "DEFICIENCY" APPROPRIATIONS

Another reform in the methods of public expenditure, which has saved much money, is the so-called "anti-deficiency" law. Up to about four years ago a bureau or a department would submit an estimate, and if the amount so estimated was not fully appropriated for by Congress, the bureau or department would nevertheless proceed to expend the amount appropriated, on the basis of the estimate, and would then present to Congress, at its next session, an estimate to make up the deficiency. This practice enabled the heads of the departments, and not Congress, to fix the standard of public expenditures.

The law now provides that all appropriations must be apportioned by the heads of departments and bureau chiefs, by monthly or quarterly allotments, so as to cover the entire year, and the amount so allotted must not be exceeded, except in case of some extraordinary emergency, or the happening of some unforeseen and unavoidable contingency that could not be reasonably anticipated when the apportionment was made. For a violation of this law a severe penalty is imposed. As a result, estimates for deficiency appropriations have been materially reduced. The total deficiency appropriations during the last session were \$7,587,654.12 less than those of the previous session, and \$11,825,788.71 less than the average annual deficiencies during any fiscal year since 1898. Thus the power, which, through long usage, had been usurped by the departments and bureaus, of determining, without regard for the will of Congress, what their expenditures should be, has been destroyed, and Congress now fixes the standard of public expenditures in all departments of the Government, free from department coercion.

Another provision of law enacted a few years ago, which has compelled the executive

branch of the Government to cease the expenditure of public money through indirect means without authority of law, provides that no part of any appropriations heretofore or hereafter made shall be available for the payment of the salaries of any person or commission appointed without the authority of law, or for the payment of compensation of persons transferred from bureaus or departments to assist such person or commission in its work, unless such transfer or such commission has been previously authorized by law. This is, in effect, but a reiteration of a law on the statute books at the time of its enactment, but which had been repeatedly violated. Moreover, the Constitution provides that "no money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law," and it was the intention of the framers of that instrument that the authority to expend the money of the people should be restricted to appropriations made by Congress. While this provision remains law and the auditors for the several departments enforce it, government by executive choice will be impossible.

SHOULD CABINET OFFICERS HAVE SEATS IN CONGRESS?

It has been suggested many times that our adoption of the European system of giving cabinet officers seats in the House of Representatives would greatly facilitate the work of Congress in making appropriations for the public service, and would likewise result in much economy. Whether such a system, if adopted, would result in any economy is very doubtful. There are many practical difficulties in the way of such a system in this country. The greatest obstacle is our form of government with its three independent and coördinate branches. In England the cabinet is chosen from among the membership of the House of Commons. Under our Constitution this would not be possible, as a man cannot at one and the same time hold office in the executive and legislative departments of the Government. This the founders of our Government wisely provided against in order to prevent one branch from dominating the other. The proposition merely to grant them permission to be present on the floor of the House and participate in the discussion is likewise impracticable.

It is not likely that the people would take kindly to the idea of having persons appointed by the executive, sometimes because of their ability along given lines, but not infrequently for personal or political reasons, participate in

and bring their influence to bear directly upon the question of the appropriation of public money for their respective departments. Their responsibility for such action would not be to the people but to the President.

Under our system information concerning the necessity for appropriations estimated for is obtained through hearings before the respective committees having appropriating jurisdiction. Reports of these hearings are always printed and are available for the information of every Member of the House and the country.

It is more than likely that the presence and influence of heads of departments upon the floor, while perhaps furnishing some enlightenment to those members who do not take the trouble to examine the reports of hearings, would tend to increase rather than decrease appropriations. Each cabinet officer would represent and use his power and influence in the interests of his own department. This is always the case under the present system, and it is not reasonable to suppose that it would be different if cabinet officers were permitted to urge their estimates on the floor as well as before committees.

ATTITUDE OF HOUSE COMMITTEES

Another serious cause for increased appropriations is the fact that the chairmen and members of those committees, each of which has jurisdiction of but a single appropriation bill, have become the partisan representatives in committee and upon the floor of the department or the particular activity of the governmental service which comes under their appropriating jurisdiction. These committees have both legislative and appropriating jurisdiction. The Committee on Appropriations, on the other hand, very properly has no legislative jurisdiction, but has control of six appropriation bills, carrying a little more than half the total appropriations. Two of these bills, the Legislative, Executive and Judicial and the Sundry Civil bill, carry appropriations affecting every department and every activity of the Government, and reach almost every Congressional district in the country. This general jurisdiction causes the Committee on Appropriations to take a comprehensive view of governmental expenditures, and to refrain from favoring one branch or activity of the Government at the expense of another, and also to seek so to consolidate and merge similar functions which are being performed by several separate agencies as to cause the least possible expenditure and the least possible duplication of service.

A partial remedy for the lack of coördination between committees having appropriating jurisdiction was thought to have been found in the Senate when recently a committee on public expenditures was formed, composed of the chairmen of the various appropriating committees. This committee, however, found it impossible to accomplish anything, because none of its members wished to antagonize any one of the appropriating committees by interfering with its work and interposing his judgment over that of the seventeen or more members who composed each of the appropriating committees; and also because none of the committees was willing to surrender its judgment to any other committee. For these and other reasons nothing whatever was accomplished through that method.

Prior to 1865 the House of Representatives had no committee known as a "Committee on Appropriations." Until then all appropriation bills were prepared and submitted by the Committee on Ways and Means.

DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITY

In 1865 the jurisdiction of this committee, under the rules of the House, was divided and the Committee on Appropriations was created with Thaddeus Stevens as its head, who resigned the chairmanship of Ways and Means to accept the chairmanship of this new committee. Thereafter, and until 1880, all appropriations were considered by the Committee on Appropriations. In the latter year the legislative committee on Agriculture was authorized, under the rules of the House, to prepare and report the Agricultural Appropriation Bill. In 1885, to weaken the influence of Samuel J. Randall, a Protection Democrat, then chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, authority was given, by a Democratic House, to the Committee on Military Affairs to report the Army Appropriation bill and the bill for the support of the Military Academy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs to report the Naval Appropriation bill; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Diplomatic and Consular Appropriation bill; to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, the Post-Office Appropriation bill; and to the Committee on Indian Affairs, the Indian Appropriation bill.

Thus the jurisdiction over, and the responsibility for, all appropriations was taken from one committee and divided between seven. Six of these committees, each having control over the appropriations for but one department, were thereby made the special representatives and advocates of the respective departments for

which they consider and recommend appropriations, rather than the servants of the House and the representatives of the people, the expenditure of whose money they recommend. In this way we have seven avenues and as many by-ways as there are members constituting these committees, to the federal Treasury.

This division of jurisdiction and responsibility in the matter of initiating appropriations has contributed more than any single cause to the enormous increase in appropriations during recent years. It was predicted at the time by Mr. Randall and Mr. Cannon that the amendment to the rules, dividing the responsibility for appropriations, would soon cost the people \$50,000,000 annually. Our experience under this rule has demonstrated the wisdom of these men in opposing its adoption, and the correctness of their judgment as to its responsibility for greatly increasing appropriations for public expenditures.

GIVE ENTIRE JURISDICTION TO ONE COMMITTEE

The real remedy for unnecessarily increasing appropriations, therefore, lies in the adoption of a rule upon the organization of the House in the Sixty-second Congress, authorizing the appointment of one committee sufficiently large to represent all sections of the country, vested with exclusive jurisdiction over all estimates for appropriations. This would be a genuine reform in the rules of the House,—one that would be of practical benefit to the people. It would save to the federal Treasury from fifty to seventy-five millions of dollars annually.

Although the suggested change in the rules is within the power of the House to make, its accomplishment would be impossible without the aid of a strong public sentiment. This is so for the reason that it will encounter the determined opposition of about one hundred and eighty members who are, or have been, members of one or the other of these seven appropriating committees. The membership of these committees is naturally jealous of the prestige and influence that attaches to service on a committee having appropriating jurisdiction. Their combined effort and influence would, therefore, have to be met and overcome. For this reason the proposed modification of the rules cannot be effected until, through the press and magazines of the country, there is created a public sentiment so strong in its favor that members who have not had service on any of these committees will feel compelled, in the interest of economy, to favor a rule for the appointment of a single committee to have control of all appropriations.

The results accomplished by the one committee that now has jurisdiction over six of the twelve appropriation bills gives promise of the retrenchment that may be expected if all the appropriation bills were placed under the control of a single committee. The appropriations reported to the House, by the Committee on Appropriations, during the last session of Congress were \$16,933,925.24 less than the estimates over which that committee has jurisdiction; while the appropriations reported by all the other appropriating committees were \$27,931,402.10 in excess of the estimates submitted for their consideration. This difference in previous sessions was much greater when the estimates were submitted, under the old system, with far less care and without the restraining influence under which the heads of the executive departments prepared the estimates submitted at the last session.

Among the many important duties of Congress none requires greater concentration of responsibility, in order to insure the best and most satisfactory results, than the consideration of estimates for appropriations to meet governmental expenditures. No great corporation would for a moment tolerate the impractical and unbusinesslike method in allotting to its several departments the amount necessary to the conduct of its business that has obtained in both Houses of Congress the past twenty-five years. If it did, bankruptcy would inevitably follow in a very short time.

Inasmuch, then, as this divided responsibility and haphazard method in considering and recommending appropriations is to such a great extent responsible for the enormous and unnecessary increase in our appropriations in recent years, and since the chief remedy can be found only in the creation of a single committee for the consideration of appropriation bills, it is to be hoped that before the organization of the next Congress a wise and overwhelming public sentiment will exist, demanding that in the interest of economy in appropriations and in the administration of public affairs the jurisdiction over all appropriations be consolidated in one committee of the House, instead of being divided, as now, between seven or eight. If this can be accomplished in conjunction with the present method of preparing and submitting the estimates by the executive to Congress, then the consideration of those estimates by one committee, instead of by eight, would prevent the duplication of and insure that coordination in the public service that would greatly reduce the appropriations and hereafter keep them within the actual needs, as well as within the legitimate functions, of the Government.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

HOW GERMAN STREET RAILWAYS SHAME US

AN excellent commentary on the prevalent criticism of American street-railway service is supplied by the *Engineering News*, which prints in its editorial correspondence a letter from C. W. B., who has been spending a short time in half a dozen German cities—Cologne, Mayence, and Strasburg being three of them—and who says that he wishes he had with him in Germany the manager of the street railways in his own home town in America, to whom he would like to put a few questions with the view of discovering why there is such a contrast between the street railways of these German cities and his own at home. The indictment he brings against the New Jersey corporation which runs the latter is as follows:

Its cars are dirty and overcrowded. They are insufficient in number to accommodate the traffic, not only at the rush hours of the day but at other times. They are run at astonishingly irregular intervals. Often one waits a long time for a car to come along and then three or four will pass in a bunch. The conduct of the employees is a constant source of complaint. The handling of the controller and of the brakes is such that the cars are generally stopped with a jerk and started with a surge ahead that sends the whole mass of strap hangers swaying backward. The failure of motormen to stop when signaled is a constant exasperation, particularly on parts of the system where cars are run at infrequent intervals.

The passengers are jammed into dirty street cars like cattle. The goads used upon the street-car cattle are such verbal ones as "step lively" and "move up in front." That's the chief difference. And there is as yet no humane society to protect street-railway passengers from cruel treatment.

In Germany not once in all his street-railway riding did C. W. B. see a crowded car. While American street railways provide for increased traffic by putting on larger and heavier cars, the Germans meet the same problem by running trains of two or three cars, which offer a choice between closed and open cars, and enable the German street railways to do what no American street railway ever pretends to do—provide a seat for every passenger who wishes to sit down. Also, the German cars are clean; the uniforms of the employees are immaculate; and the men themselves are courteous to a degree that, as C. W. B. remarks, "leaves an American dissolved in astonishment." There

were many other points in the Germans' favor noted by him. For example, he says:

When I travel on my home street railway and the car comes to a switch, a stop is made while the motorman takes the long switch-operating rod out of the front compartment where he keeps it. Then he either gets out of the car or pokes the rod out of the front window and turns the switch. Then he puts back the rod and starts the car ahead.

On a German car the motorman carries the switch-operating rod on the front of the car outside where it is held by a socket and latch. When he comes to a switch, therefore, he can release the rod and turn the switch and replace the rod in a fifth of the time the motorman on an American car requires.

Another point that bothers Americans in connection with their street railways, especially in going from one city to another, is whether the cars will stop on the near or on the far side of the street. In Germany, the stopping-places are plainly marked by neat enameled signs along the sidewalk, and, except at junctions with other street railways, are located at some distance from the street corners. C. W. B. believes that the adoption of such a system in America would obviate four-fifths of the complaints of motormen not stopping when signaled; and it might result in a saving of time that would avoid the high-speed runs between stops, and the quick starts and sudden checks that are as annoying to the passengers as they are injurious to the equipment.

In justice to the American street-railway manager, C. W. B. confesses his belief that the brusque "Step lively!" of the American conductor is just as truly typical of us as a people as the politeness of the German conductor is of the German nation. Must we not, he asks, as a nation learn the art of good manners before we indict our street-railway managers because their conductors do not say "Please" and "Thank you?"

Street railways in German cities of moderate size give a far superior service to any in America, and, with far smaller traffic, carry passengers short distances for half the fare charged by American companies. As C. W. B. admits, however, the American lines give much longer rides for a single fare than is customary in Germany and the demand here is for these long rides.

IS EUROPE TAKING RELIGION OUT OF ITS SCHOOLS?

THE entire separation of Church and State is regarded by nearly all citizens of this republic as a highly fortunate condition of affairs. Their independence of one or the other seems to make for the freedom of both. At the same time, government within each is immensely simplified through the presence of a single instead of a dual authority. As applied to our public schools, this principle has resulted in the "undenominational" system which most of us would be very unwilling to see changed. The question as to which faith should be taught, and how much prominence it should receive in the school curriculum, has not, however, everywhere been settled with so little difficulty and friction as here. Where a state religion has been strongly entrenched, there, of course, the efforts to get it out of the schools have been vigorously resisted. In France, after a bitter conflict, all religious teaching or observance, and even the recognition of religious belief, was finally banished from the schools maintained out of the public exchequer. In Italy a similar movement has been in progress, and the "laicization," or "neutralization," of government educational institutions there finds a host of energetic, eloquent adversaries, not only among the Roman Catholic priesthood, but the laity as well.

To the large and solid body of opinion the *Rassegna Nazionale* of Florence gives voice in the shape of an article based on a pamphlet recently issued by a distinguished ecclesiastic, Monsignor Bonomelli.

The "scandalous French novelty and absurdity," one reads in the *Rassegna Nazionale*, "of divorcing education from religion has found, and continues to find, ready followers in Italy." The point of view of this review is representative of the attitude taken by the majority of devout Roman Catholics in Europe, and is therefore worth quoting somewhat at length.

But it is chiefly on the schools that the fate of our country depends; if they are Christian, so will the future generations be. The lay school is not merely anti-Christian but atheistic. . . . Ignoring every true basis of morality, it is anti-social, for it is a kind of institution which does not really educate, and which does more harm than good. What we want first of all and above all is good children, to obtain which worthy grand aim their characters must be strengthened, in order to render them capable of performing acts of sacrifice, of overcoming the difficulties they will meet, of enduring the sorrows which may befall them, and of

conquering their passions. The moral law can be prescribed and enforced solely in the name of Him who alone has the right to prescribe it and enforce it without respect to persons. Who wields full and absolute authority over all men alike, and Who at His appointed hour will ask for a strict accounting and will judge all men by their works. Now, where is a teacher in a lay school to get this moral law from, so that he may propound and expound it to his pupils? A school without God must produce scholars who will fall a prey to the most untamed passions, the direst vices. . . . In countries where the lay school is established, and where there is not enough countervailing religious instruction by means of private institutions or the clergy or otherwise, we see a terrifying growth of the spirit of revolt, of anarchistic and brutally socialistic ideas, of the filthiest literature, of disgusting realism in pictures and sculpture, and of orgies which would only have been thought possible in pagan times. . . . We cannot admit that religion is purely an individual or family affair, or one of conscience. It is a public and a social question.

It is unfair, says the article in the *Rassegna Nazionale*, to cite Holland or Switzerland in defense of lay schools, for there "they open with common prayer, the Bible is read every day, and at the close a very simple prayer is offered up, thanking God for blessings bestowed. How different from our schools, and from the French, whence even the name of God is banished!" A few Italian occurrences are then recorded. School children have been rebuked by masters for making the sign of the cross. Others have been forbidden to mention the name of God. From some scholars bookmarks in the form of sacred emblems have been taken away. One teacher wrote under a boy's composition, in which he had written about his mother's death, his extreme grief thereat, and his hope of one day seeing her again in heaven, "Do you believe this?"

"However," concludes the Italian writer, "this is not liberty. It is tyranny of the first water—tyranny for which there is no excuse."

We rebel, once and for all, against such arbitrary dealings, and ask for true liberty in education which shall give cause of complaint to none. Under a system of that sort the believers will have the schools they desire, with suitable masters, and thus there will be homogeneous bringing up in which class and home teaching will not contradict each other. Let the unbelievers have their schools, as they desire them. Every father of a family will then be free to choose the kind of school he prefers. Experience will show which yields the best results. . . . Be it remembered that, if our Italy has become a free and powerful nation, this is due to the alumni of schools that were free, many of them in clerical hands, while to-day no small number of pupils in our lay schools not only have topsy-turvy notions, but also deny their country.

A NEW HINDU NATIONAL SONG

THERE is, it seems, a literary as well as a patriotic renasence in India. In a recent issue of the *Hindustani Review*, in an article on Hindustani as the national language of India, a writer says that "in Lahore we have now a young aspirant to literary fame in Dr. Mohammed Iqbal, Ph.D., etc., whose short but sweet poem, 'Hindustan Hamara,' strikes notes that must awaken responsive echoes all through Hindustan."

The following are extracts of a few verses, from which it would seem that the Hindu is quite as capable of idealizing his native land as the Briton or the American.

The song is entitled "My Native Land."

1. Of all countries in this world,
our Hindustan is the best;
2. It is our rose-garden, and we
are its nightingales.

3. Even though in foreign countries,
My heart is always in my native land;
4. You must take me to be there,
Where my heart really is.
5. That mountain which is the highest of all
and the nearest to the Heavens:
6. It is our sentry; yea it is our watchman
7. In the lap of Ind,
there disport a thousand streams;
8. Even the regions of Paradise are
jealous of the breath of our rose-garden.
9. O, Thou Ganges stream! dost
Thou still remember the day
10. When we first descended on Thy shores?
11. No religion ever teaches us to bear
enmity to each other;
12. We are Indians and this Hindustan is
Our native land.
13. Greece, Egypt and Rome have
all vanished from this world;
14. And yet the name and fame of our
dear old Ind still abide.

THE POLITICAL CAPACITY OF THE NEGRO

A VIGOROUS, courageous defense of the political capacity of the black man is contributed to the current number of the *Nineteenth Century*, by Prof. Kelly Miller, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, at Howard University, Washington. Professor Miller, himself a member of the negro race, limits his discussion to the negro in the United States.

The ancient doctrine of race inferiority, he says, still persists. "It avers with great vehemence of spirit that the negro is inherently, unalterably, and everlasting inferior to the white race as a part of God's cosmic scheme of things, and, therefore, is an unfit factor for self-government, which is the highest human function."

Nevertheless, continues this writer,

the transplanted African has manifested surprising capacities and aptitudes for the standards of his European captors, so that the races must now be separated, if at all, by purely artificial barriers. This upward struggle on the part of the African has been against continuous doubt, ridicule, and contemptuous denial on the part of those who would profit by his inferior status.

Referring to Haiti and Liberia, Professor Miller challenges the assertion that the negro is incapable of self-government. He says:

If it be true that the negro has never shown any conspicuous capacity for self-government after the European standard, it is also true that the white race has not yet shown any conspicuous success in governing him. The Republic of Haiti, contrary

to prevailing belief, is the most marvellous illustration of self-governing ability on the face of the globe. Where else can be found a race of slaves who rose up in their independence of spirit and banished the ruling race to another continent, set up free government, and maintained it for one hundred years in face of the taunts and sneers and despifteful usage of a frowning world? If there be imperfections, internal dissensions, and repeated revolutions, it is merely a repetition of the experience of mankind in learning the lesson of self-government. Liberia is held up to ridicule and scorn, and pointed to as an everlasting argument of the negro's governmental incapacity; and yet we have here a handful of ex-slaves who had only played for a while in the backyard of American civilization, and who, feeling the fires of freedom burning in their breasts, crossed the ocean and established a government on the miasmatic coasts of Africa. This Government has been maintained, however feebly, for ninety years. For nearly a century a handful of American negroes have exercised a salutary control over two millions of natives and have maintained themselves amid the intrigue and sinister design of great European powers.

So far as the negro has been allowed to take part in politics, Professor Miller maintains that he has been a constant influence making for righteousness.

It does seem remarkable that this crude, untutored race, without inheritance or freedom, should display such an absorbing passion for free institutions. Throughout the whole range of sectional contention the negro has been on the side of liberty, law and the national authority. On the whole he has advocated the party, men, measures and policies that were calculated to uphold the best traditions and the highest American ideals. According to any just and righteous standard, this

country belongs to the negro as much as to any other, not only because he has helped to redeem it from the wilderness by the energy of his arm, but because he has also bathed it with his blood and watered it with his tears, and hallowed it with the yearnings of his soul. Not only in local attachment but also in devotion of spirit to American institutions and ideals the negro has played a notable part. It was the negro slave whose blood was first shed in the streets of Boston as an earnest of American independence. In every national crisis the negro has demonstrated his patriotism anew. It runs like a thread through every chapter of our national history from Boston Common to San Juan Hill. By what possible stretch of argument can a race with such potential patriotic capacity be con-

strued into a menace to free institutions? If there be any menacing feature in the negro's political status, it is merely that he grows out of ignorance, poverty, and the resultant degradation. These are only temporary and incidental, and they endure only until adequate means are put forth for their removal. There are some who are blinded by the spirit of racial animosity and hate, and with whom racial passion is the only political stock-in-trade, so that they will willingly create a racial menace where none exists, or perpetuate it though it might easily be removed. These are the most unloyal, unpatriotic men in America, and could profitably sit at the feet of the negro, whom they hold in despite, and learn the fundamental principles of loyalty and devotion to country and its cause.

JAPAN'S POVERTY AND HER STRENGTH

MUCH has been written about the impenitentious condition of Japan—so much, indeed, that the very name suggests a poor country. But how poor she is as compared with other nations is known only to the few who have made special inquiry into the question. One of these few students is Professor Kambe, of Kioto Imperial University, who publishes the result of his painstaking investigations in a recent issue of *Nippon Keizai Shinshi* (the Japanese journal of economy), of Tokio.

After sifting a mass of statistics this noted Japanese scholar of economic science reaches the conclusion that his country is economically the poorest of all the nations which at present are generally recognized as "great powers." In the first place, he compares the total amount of Japan's national wealth with those of other powers. Assuming that 100 yen* represents the total wealth of Japan, he gives us the following comparative table:

Country	Amount of National Wealth
Japan	100 yen
Italy	269 "
Austria	384 "
Russia	551 "
Germany	683 "
France	743 "
Great Britain	1,008 "
United States	1,397 "

Not only is Japan's national wealth the smallest, she is the most heavily burdened with debts. Her national debt, Professor Kambe estimates, amounts to 22 yen for every 100 yen of her wealth, whereas even Italy, the poorest of the European powers, has a debt of only 17 yen per 100 yen of wealth. Russia's

debt is 14 yen to every 100 yen of her national wealth; France's, 14; Germany's, 10; Austria's, 7; Great Britain's, 7; the United States' 1.

Professor Kambe further infers that the average per capita income of the Japanese is smaller than that of any other people belonging to the family of great powers. Taking the average income of the Japanese at 10 yen, he gives us the following table:

Country	Average Per Capita Income
Japan	10 yen
Italy	23 "
Austria	28 "
Germany	41 "
France	52 "
Great Britain	60 "
United States	73 "

The gloomiest feature of all is the fact that, next to Italy, Japan is the most heavily taxed of nations. The Japanese is taxed to the extent of 1 yen 20 sen upon every 10 yen of his income, a proportion exceeded only by Italy, which taxes 1 yen 22 sen upon every 10 yen of the income of its subjects. The Austrian pays a tax of 1 yen 13 sen upon every 10 yen of his income; the Frenchman 97 sen; the Englishman 88 sen; the German 67 sen; and the American 33 sen.

In spite of all these unfavorable conditions now prevailing in Japan, Professor Kambe is far from disheartened. On the contrary he entertains decidedly optimistic views as to the future of Japan's economic development, believing that by applying proper methods her wealth can be augmented to no small extent. He also finds consolation in the patriotism and public spirit which enables his countrymen cheerfully to sacrifice every comfort for the sake of the State whenever an emergency arises.

*The approximate value of the Japanese yen in American money is 50 cents. There are 100 sen in one yen.

CENTENARY OF THE MOST BEAUTIFUL QUEEN IN PRUSSIAN HISTORY

THE name of Queen Louise, held in such affectionate memory by the Prussian people, conjures up a vision of gracious loveliness. Ever an attractive and appealing figure, a special interest attaches to her at present—the centennial of her death. The exhibition of likenesses of the Queen now being held in the Hohenzollern Museum at Berlin offers the best opportunity to obtain genuine portrayals of her at various ages.

P. Bailleu, writing in the *Illustrierte Zeitung* (Leipsic) on the occasion of the anniversary, gives us a vivid idea of the personality of the Queen, who enthralled the fancy not only of her contemporaries but of succeeding generations. A reproduction of a beautiful, youthful picture of her, by Tischbein (now in the Royal Palace at Berlin), precedes his article.

In lecturing—the writer begins—some years ago on Queen Louise before a Berlin audience, and speaking of the fascination of her personality, her captivating grace, one of the audience stepped up to him at the close and asked whether she had really been so beautiful and good, so irresistibly winning, or was it all only a Prussian legend. This is the question, he continues, which now, too, on the eve of the cen-



THE PRUSSIAN MADONNA

(The beautiful Queen Louise of Prussia the centenary of whose death was observed last month)



A PORTRAIT OF QUEEN LOUISE IN HER YOUTH

(From the Painting by T. F. U. Tischbein
in the Royal Palace, Berlin)

tenary memorial of her death, is again more or less audibly put.

The question may be readily and decisively answered. We can point to the pictures where Vigée-Lebrun, Grassi, and Tischbein have depicted the charm of her presence; but more appealing are the descriptions of her from the pen of two foreigners—a Frenchman and an Englishman. Count Séguir, who came to Berlin with Duroc in 1803, wrote: "One of the memories that have remained with me from my brief journey is the admiration that the beautiful and gifted Queen of Prussia aroused in me. There was such a harmonious sweetness in her voice, something so lovable and irresistibly appealing in her words, such charm and majesty in her bearing, that, completely dazed for some moments, I believed myself in the presence of one of those beings whose seductions and witchery are depicted to us in the fables of the olden times." And the English Secretary of Legation writes to his sister, the same year: "In society, particularly among the younger people, there reigns a feeling of chivalrous devotion to the Queen, and a sunny smile or a glance from her brightly laughing eyes is a token of favor eagerly coveted. Few women are endowed with so much

charm, and she is just as lovable and gracious as she is beautiful in face and form."

The witchery of Queen Louise's personality, however, lay not so much in outward appearance. "It radiated from her inner nature, whose beautiful, gentle harmony animated her motions and re-echoed in her voice." In her countenance there "beamed the peace of a candid, pure soul, joyous and happy" and anxious to make others so. "I feel so kindly toward people," she once wrote to a friend, "my whole being is love for them; I should so like to know them happy and contribute toward making them so, at my own expense."

She had shared in her happy years the easy-going life of pleasure of the Berlin court, the distaste of her husband for every form of political activity. If from 1805 she turned to politics, it was not with a meddling spirit; the currents that began to stir the Prussian people thrilled her also, and she realized that her hus-

band needed a faithful companion to strengthen and encourage him.

Thus the force of circumstances thrust her into a place that she alone could fill. Of the two opposite camps into which Europe was divided—in her eyes, a division more ethical than political—she took the part against Napoleon. She had no share, however, in the measures that led to the unfortunate war and the collapse of 1806. All the more significant was her unflinching devotion during the war, and her painful pilgrimage to Tilsit, which has invested her with the imperishable consecration of unmerited misfortune. But it was only after the conclusion of peace that the full blessing of her activity unfolded itself. It was chiefly Queen Louise who composed the difference between the King and his reform minister, Baron von Stein, thus making the great reform work possible. And again, some years later, it was she who, in one of the severest crises of the Prussian realm, averted the danger of losing Silesia, and at the same time brought about the appointment of the second great reform minister, Baron von Hardenberg, as Chancellor, in 1810. It was an act of far-reaching consequence, but it was her last; a few weeks after her great victories she died while on a visit to her father, at the age of thirty-four.

HUNGARY A SOVEREIGN STATE

THERE is no such thing as an "Austro-Hungarian Empire." This is clearly and emphatically set forth in the Roman *Nuova Antologia* by his excellency Count Albert Apponyi, who in the Kingdom of Hungary has fulfilled the functions of Chief Justice, Minister of Public Instruction, and President of the Lower House, or *Képviselőház*. Count Apponyi continues:

Mistaken ideas concerning the relations between Austria and Hungary are propagated through certain political channels, both Austrian and German, inasmuch as some publicists of those countries are endeavoring to lend authoritative color to the exploded fancy of a great unified Austria, in which Hungary would figure but as a more or less autonomous province. . . . To minds possessed with such erroneous notions—as most non-Austrian writers are—our institutions and our national affairs remain everlasting riddles, because those notions are so entirely strange to historical and constitutional facts. The most important fact, however, is that Hungary stands as an independent sovereign state. Hungary has never surrendered any portion of its sovereignty; it has only obeyed political exigencies in the method of carrying out some of the prerogatives of that sovereignty. The term "autonomy" has no meaning whatever when applied to a sovereign state, and if there have been any concessions then it is Hungary that has made them.

It is true, explains Count Apponyi, that the same "physical person" reigns over the two countries, *i. e.* Franz Josef, or Ferencz József.

But this person, who is at once the Emperor of Austria and the King of Hungary, represents two sovereignties entirely distinct in law, which moreover differ considerably in various essentials of prerogative. One should understand that two separate monarchies, two dominions quite independent of each other, are comprised within the area usually designated as Austria-Hungary, *viz.*, the Empire of Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary. To quote Count Apponyi further:

There is no Austro-Hungarian territory; there is only Austrian territory and Hungarian territory, which fact was established by the unanimous vote of Parliament on the occasion of boundary negotiations with Rumania. There are no Austro-Hungarian citizens; there are only Austrian citizens and Hungarian citizens, who may hold or lose their rights of citizenship according to their respective country's laws, which are by no means the same. . . . In Paris, a few years ago, when a census of the foreigners was taken, the officials charged with it obstinately refused to enter the Hungarians residing in that city as Hungarian citizens or subjects; they wanted to enter them as Austrians, which was just about as correct as if they had called them English or Russian. At last they classified them as Austro-Hungarians—which was absolute nonsense. It is time that such ignorance stopped, and that a foreigner living in Paris or elsewhere should enjoy the acknowledgment of his nationality, even though it were Hungarian.

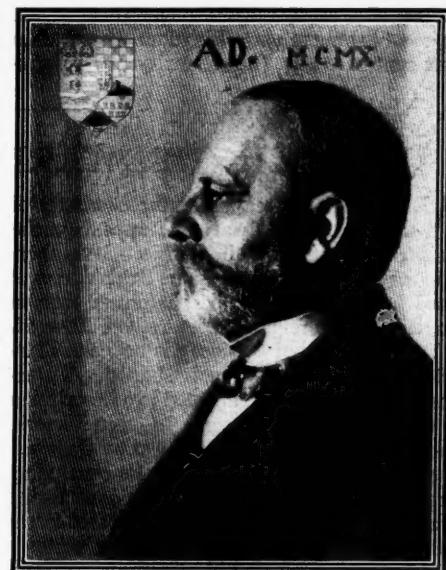
Count Apponyi supports his statements by reference to history. It was not for the pur-

pose of transforming Hungary into a province of some empire that the Hapsburgs were called in to rule over that land. On the contrary, in their coronation oaths the monarchs of that line solemnly engaged to uphold Hungary's liberty and independence.

Under the first Kings belonging to that dynasty there was no constitutional tie between Hungary and the other countries [of the Empire]; and none could possibly have existed, since those other countries were ruled by hereditary right, while Hungary was an elective kingdom. It was by virtue of elections that several Hapsburg sovereigns succeeded one another on the Hungarian throne between 1526 and 1687. At this latter date the Hungarian crown was declared hereditary in the male branch of the house of Hapsburg, under express guarantee of the country's freedom and independence. But it was only in 1723, when the right of succession was extended to the female branch of the same dynasty, that the relations betwixt Hungary and the old hereditary provinces, specified by the collective name of Austria, were defined and confirmed in proper legal form. This was done through the Pragmatic Sanction, under Charles VI (Charles III of Hungary), dating in Austria from 1713, and with us from 1723.

The obligation of "mutual defense" at that time entered upon, so this authoritative writer points out, is quite unrelated to the peculiar physical unity of rulership, and neither does it affect the integrity of Hungarian sovereignty. With the great constitutional reform of 1848, he goes on to elucidate, came the parliamentary arrangement, when the dual character of the Empire-Kingdom was emphatically reaffirmed by the enunciation of special conditions for the exercise of royal prerogative in Hungary. Then came the compromise (Ausgleich, or Kiegyezés) of 1867. This, says the statesman whose article we are transcribing, "is not a treaty, but simply a law deriving exclusively from the will of the Hungarian legislative power." And although, as he admits, there appear to be difficulties as to the actual working of some of its provisions, its validity as a juridical instrument he asserts to be beyond dispute. In theory, at all events, the compromise now holds good in the government of the "dual monarchy."

Since 1867 the following order of things has prevailed: Austria and Hungary have their own separate parliaments, at Vienna and Budapest, with responsible ministries, and each of the parliaments has an upper and a lower chamber. There is, however, also a third set of ministers. These form, as it were, a sort of international cabinet for the direction of common affairs. Under their control are three departments—*i.e.*, the Foreign, War,



COUNT CHARLES KHUEN-BELASI-HEDERVARY,
THE NEW HUNGARIAN PREMIER

(By his victory in the Hungarian general election, which has at last placed the internal politics of the Dual Monarchy on what appears to be a "durable basis of constructive peace," Count Charles Khuen-Belasi-Hedervary has become the most conspicuous statesman in the land, rivaling even the "new Bismarck," Count Ahrenthal. He is a phenomenal worker and organizer, at once Pro-Consul and Parliamentarian. He served as Ban of Croatia before he became Minister-President, and he has long enjoyed the confidence of Emperor Francis Joseph)

and Finance; these ministers are four in number, the military and naval branches having separate heads (who are professional men, not civilians). But there is no common deliberative assembly. Such questions as need joint discussion are taken up by the so-called Delegations—to which, by the way, the common cabinet is responsible. There are two Delegations, one Austrian and one Hungarian; they comprise sixty members each, selected by the Upper Houses and Lower Houses of Austria and of Hungary from their own personnel, in the proportion of twenty to forty. The Delegations meet alternately, summoned by the Emperor-King, at the capitals of Vienna and Budapest. Yet they do not sit as a homogeneous body, but as distinct assemblies. If on some point an agreement cannot be reached except by vote, then each Delegation goes through the voting process, and that Delegation showing the largest majority carries the issue.

Additional reasons why Hungary's integrity should be fully acknowledged and re-

spected the author finds in the antiquity of its establishment as a kingdom, more than nine centuries ago, the solidarity of its popu-

lation, and its possession of nationally individual traits and ideals. He regards Austro-Hungarian relations as very cordial at present.

HOW KING EDWARD VII WAS EDUCATED

A BRILLIANT essay upon the character of the late King Edward VII appears in the *Quarterly Review*. While unsigned, its authorship is generally ascribed by the British press to Lord Esher, one of the best informed men in England on the reigns of Victoria and Edward.

The real topic of the essay is how the character of King Edward was shaped. Three-fourths of the article is devoted to a description of the excessive care taken by Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort in educating their son and heir for his high vocation. Its concluding pages describe the result of this elaborate process of intensive culture as illustrated in the character of the King. Lord Esher writes a little bit more as a courtier than as a historian, and his article is perhaps more of a eulogium than a criticism. Even so, he cannot deny the fact—on the contrary, he expressly admits it more than once—that the system of education adopted with such anxious thought, pursued with such steady perseverance by his parents, was a mistake, although, like many other mistakes, it did not work out so badly in the long run.

It is amazing that the King did not turn out a frightful prig, but he was, no doubt, delivered from this by the fact that he inherited from his ancestors a large proportion of original sin. The old Adam in him was strong even as a child of three and a half years old, for his governess describes him as very intelligent, generous, and good-tempered, with a few occasional passions and stampings. Even then he was most exemplary in politeness:

Nothing—not the smallest thing—was left to chance. Not a week, not a day, not an hour of the time of this precious youth could safely or properly be wasted. Other lads might occasionally run loose in the springtime, and for other boys it might be legitimate to plunge into the region of romance. But for this boy the pages even of Sir Walter Scott were closed, and he must concentrate, ever concentrate, upon "modern languages," upon "history," upon "the sciences." . . . Daily, almost hourly, the Queen and the Prince kept watch and ward over those entrusted with the care of their son.

He was never for a moment allowed to forget that it was his destiny to be the King of England, and his whole life, his studies, his amusements, his companions were all chosen for him by a parental providence. Judging from the memoranda quoted by the *Quarterly Review*, the Queen and Prince Consort were at least as much concerned about the education of their son as they were about the government of the Empire.

They succeeded in teaching him to be polite, to dress well, to be neat, punctual and orderly—in other words, they hardened what might be called his naturally good instincts into fixed habits; but when they came up against his love of pleasure and other instincts, they not only failed utterly, but contributed themselves to their defeat. For instance, it is probable that the blue-eyed boy whom Lady Lyttelton describes as being backward in language when he was three and a half years of age might never under the most sagacious guidance have developed into a great scholar; but the method adopted by the Prince Consort simply made him loathe books. He was never allowed to read a novel, and during his stay at Edinburgh the only literary dissipation he was allowed was an abridged edition of Gibbons' "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," and the worthy Dr. Schmidt's "History of the Middle Ages."

"A great reader the King never was, but he was a great observer," and this faculty of observation seems to have been innate in him



LORD ESHER

(Said to be the best-informed man in England on the facts of the late King's life)

and was not due to any special education. The mischief which the excessive supervision of his earlier education did to the Prince was aggravated in later years by the jealous manner in which he was excluded by the Queen from all participation in affairs of State. That the Prince resented this bitterly is an open secret. He complained of it to all.

For several years of his life he was popularly credited or debited with the reputation of a Prince Hal. His own mother was said to have frequently expressed with some bitterness her disappointment at the finished result of the painful efforts of the Prince Consort and herself to make the Prince of Wales walk in the strait and narrow path. Indeed, the strait and narrow path was the one thing which the Prince instinctively detested, and the more you tried to drive him into it the more he preferred the broad path that leadeth to destruction. But when Queen Victoria died Prince Hal disappeared, and in his place King Edward dissolved in twenty-four hours all the misgivings of those who had never seen the better side of

his character. Those who stood near him at that time realized immediately that in Edward VII the country had come into the possession of a great monarch:

So far from his previous life, with its want of concentrated energy, with its so-called frivolities, and with what men always prejudiced and sometimes insincere call its ceremonial inanities, proving an obstacle to kingship, the sheer humanity of it had left him unscathed of soul and most extraordinarily well equipped for dealing with the gravest problem with which a sovereign has to deal, that is to say, the eternal problem of making good use of the average man. Whether it was a radical politician or a foreign statesman, a man embittered by neglect or one of fortune's favorites, an honest man or a villain, no one ever left the King's presence without a sense of his own increased importance in the worldly scale of things. It was this power of raising a man in his own estimation which was the mainspring of the King's influence. His varied intercourse with men of all sorts and conditions, his preference for objective rather than for subjective teaching, as his old tutor said of him in boyhood, and his frank interest in the affairs of others, had taught him the most profound and the oftenest ignored of all platitudes, that the vast majority of men are good, and that no man is wholly evil.

THE RUSSIAN CHURCH AND DIVORCE

AT the present time, when the question of divorce is occupying public attention so largely in this country, the article by Mr. Andrew J. Shipman in the *Catholic World* on divorce in the Russian Church is as opportune as it is interesting. According to this writer, although the question of marriage in the Russian Orthodox Church rests upon a reasonably solid foundation, in practice it is quite different. In the Orthodox Greek Church matrimony is a sacrament and is indissoluble. Until the reign of Peter the Great, matrimonial legislation and practice in Russia were more or less severely observed; but from his time until 1841 there was an attempt to reconcile the severity of the Church's teaching with the customs of the people. The "Regulations for Ecclesiastical Consistories," issued by the Government and the Holy Synod in 1841, are now the law of the Russian Church with regard to the dissolution of marriage and subsequent remarriage.

Under this existing law marriage is ended by the death of one of the parties, and the survivor may, if there be no impediments, remarry; and marriage may be also dissolved either by petition of one of the parties or by a suit brought by one party against the other. The wife may file with the consistory of the diocese a petition for absolute dissolution of the marriage when her husband has been exiled to Siberia, which

entails the loss of his civil and family rights; or when he has been absent without having been heard from for five years. The absence must be proved, the usual method of supplying such evidence being by an advertisement in a Church paper. Suits are divided into two classes: divorce without criminality and divorce arising from transgression. The first relate to matters of incapacity; the second, to violations of the marriage vows. The party found guilty is not allowed to remarry; but the other party may at once contract a new marriage. It is however possible for the guilty party, after several years, to make application, perform the prescribed penance, and then receive permission to marry again. The civil courts in Russia have no jurisdiction over divorce, so that any corrupt practices must be attributed to the State Church and to its law and procedure.

From the article under review we learn that this granting of divorce in Russia, together with its wide departure from the early canons of the Church, "has resulted in many laxities and abuses, so that a state of things has been produced which is not even tolerated here [in the United States] in some of our very liberal divorce States."

The Government wants the stamp duties; the necessary advertisements are not objected to by the Church papers; the various consistories reckon

upon the costs and fees which come to them as a part of their revenue; and the lawyers look upon divorce litigation as a safe and profitable source of professional income, something like conveyance and searching of titles with us.

Most of the divorces in Russia are for continued absence without news of the other party. Often a divorce is obtained by the wife in one part of the Empire, and a divorce by the husband in another part, for this same cause. It is an ordinary thing to see a list of divorce advertisements in the leading Church papers in Russia. The *Catholic Review* prints facsimiles of nine of such advertisements from the *Tserkovny Viedomosti* (Church Gazette), an organ of the Holy Synod. Most of the peasants and persons of the mixed classes, even if they can read and write, know nothing of divorce procedure, so that the Russian lawyer who makes divorce cases a specialty finds plenty of clients. The way he advertises himself would put to shame the most daring of the advertising lawyers in the United States. The notices of six such lawyers are reproduced in facsimile by the *Catholic Review*, together with translations. One of the advertisers, employed during the week in the divorce division of the Holy Synod, actually announces that he will be in Moscow on Sundays from 2 to 8 p. m. to give advice in divorce cases, while another informs prospective clients that payment is not due till the end of proceedings, and that his charges are from fifty dollars upward.

On this important question Russia is becom-

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ADVERTISEMENTS OF RUSSIAN DIVORCE LAWYERS
REPRODUCED FROM RUSSIAN JOURNALS

ing more lax every day; and she presents the repulsive spectacle of a church and hierarchy practically aligned on the side of easy and frequent divorce, and contradicting daily the teaching of its own catechism.

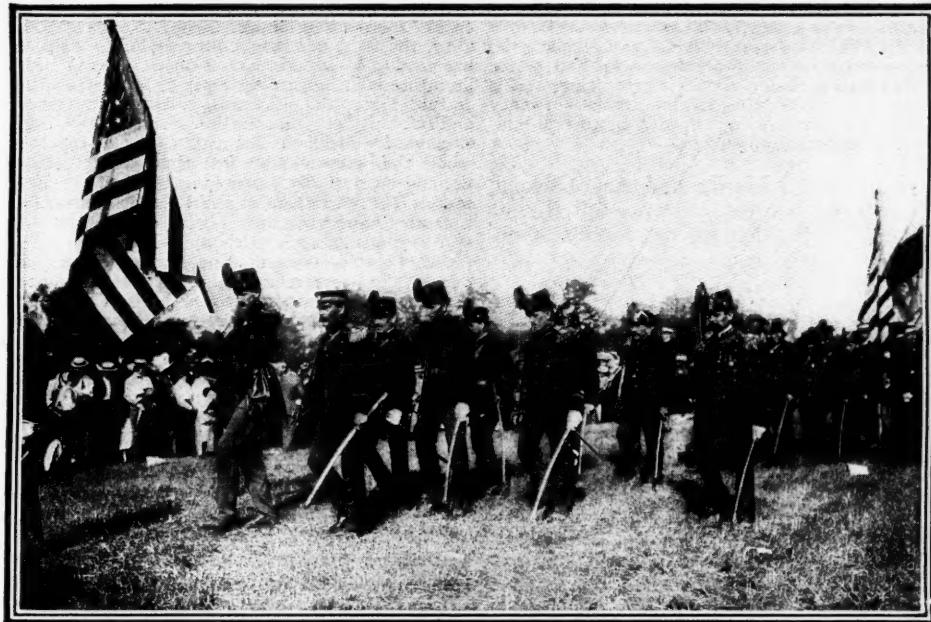
POLAND'S "SILENT" CELEBRATION OF HER TRIUMPH AT GRÜNWLAD

ON July 15 there occurred the five-hundredth anniversary of an event of the greatest consequence for the Polish people, an event that made possible the existence of the Polish nation. On July 15, 1410, the Teutonic Knights, who had been given hospitality on Polish soil in 1228 and who had later become a formidable foe of Poland, were defeated and routed on the field of Grünwald, in East Prussia.

The Teutonic Knights were a military-religious order founded at Jerusalem in 1188, which soon after its return to Europe was asked by the head of one of the Polish provinces to aid him against the Prussians, then a heathen tribe of Lithuanian stock, who were continually invading his territory. These Pagans the German priest-warriors soon exterminated, and they began to dream of build-

ing up on Polish soil a state independent of Poland. With this in view, they waged continual warfare against Poland and intrigued against her at all the courts of Europe. The rapacity of the Knights was checked by their defeat at Plowce, on September 27, 1331. But from the blow delivered them on July 15, 1410, at Grünwald, when 18,000 of the Knights, with their Grand Master, Ulrich von Jungingen, were left dead on the field of battle, while 14,000 were made prisoners of war,—the Teutonic Order never recovered. Its dominions were secularized, and on April 10, 1525, in Cracow, the Polish capital, its last Grand Master, Albert, Duke of Brandenburg, tendered the oath of fidelity for East Prussia for himself and all his successors, to King Sigismund of Poland.

The five-hundredth anniversary of the



COMMEMORATING THE BATTLE OF GRÜNWALD AT STATEN ISLAND, N. Y.

(One of the Polish-American military organizations marching past the reviewing stand)

great victory of Grünwald was celebrated globe. Besides the sons and daughters of this year by the Poles the world over. Fifty thousand Poles of New York and its vicinity commemorated the event on Staten Island. For this Grünwald is not merely a bloody memorial of Poland's prowess in arms. "Had the hydra of which was born the later Prussian kingdom not been crushed under the hoofs of the Polish steeds," says Waclaw Perkowski in the New York *Tribune*, the "German deluge would have effaced Polonism from Poland, as it had obliterated the Western Slavonians on the Elbe, the Spree, and the Oder. Without Grünwald, Poland would not have been Poland."

The memory of this great victory of the Polish arms over the Germans could not, of course, be celebrated in German Poland. Nor could it be celebrated in any great degree in Russian Poland, as the Russian Government is submissive to the behests of Berlin. But it was celebrated with great rejoicing in Leopol and Cracow (in Austrian Poland) and abroad. The principal celebration was that in the old Polish capital, Cracow, on July 15, 16, 17, and 18. To this "heart of Poland" there flocked members of the Polish race not only from the three divisions of the Polish territory, but also from France, America, the borders of China, and other quarters of the

of Poland's great day more than 200 Bohemians, Bulgarians, Croatians, Servians, Slovenians, and Russians.

During the celebration a magnificent monument to the victor of Grünwald, King Ladislaus Jagiello, presented to the Polish nation by the eminent Polish patriot, the pianist Ignatius Paderewski, was unveiled.

In the Cracow celebration the French press admired most the conscious calm and the temperate enthusiasm of the throng of 160,000 participants. Thus, Maurice Muret says in the *Journal des Debats* (Paris):

The Polish-German relations present at this moment much to be desired. Hostile manifestations of the Poles on the occasion of the Grünwald celebration would have called forth direct reprisals on the other side. Such a blunder had to be avoided at every cost. It was avoided—heroically, I may say. Not one false tone; not one outcry of anger; not one call to violence, disturbed the grave, concentrated harmony of the celebration of which we were witnesses.

Commerc observes in the *Temps* of Paris that it seemed as if there had been issued to the throngs on the streets and to the political speakers the admonition:

Let us be calm; let us speak of love, not of hate; let us celebrate our victory, not the disaster of the

foe! . . . It is impossible to deny that we have before us a new fact. Hitherto, we knew a suffering Poland that complained and rebelled; the witnesses of the Grünwald festivities had before them a nation that is silent, is organizing, and is developing. Now this nation numbers twenty millions and is increasing annually by several hundreds of thousands of persons.

The brothers Marius and Ary Leblond, whose book "La Pologne vivante" (Living Poland) has just left the press in Paris, observe, in *L'Opinion*.

The most important fact lies in this, that together with the Poles we are to honor the nobleness, the humanitarian worth, and the superiority

of their civilization. . . . Even under the influence of this persecution which mutilates the nationality, the race, and the culture,—Polish culture has not lost its superiority. Contemporary Polish literature is incomparably superior to German literature through its richness, through the power and sublimity of its inspiration, through its swing, through its idealistic element. . . . On the whole, the Poles are more intelligent, elegant, artistic, and considerably better educated than the Germans. The patriotism of the Poles is constantly becoming more virile and is being enriched by the sturdiest qualities of irredentism—in face of harsh, pitiless Pan-Germanism. Contemporary Poland is one of the most refined and richest nations in Europe in respect to intellect and one of Europe's more important agents of regeneration,—a moral power.

ÉLIE METCHNIKOFF AND HIS LONG-LIFE SOUR-MILK BACILLUS

THE onset of old age and the methods for its prevention have occupied the earnest study of many able men; but of all of them the one whose name will probably be most prominently associated with the subject is Élie Metchnikoff, the eminent Russian scientist, who in 1895 succeeded Pasteur as head of the Institute in Paris which bears the latter's name. Metchnikoff was born in the Russian province of Kharkov, May 15, 1845, and after studying at Giessen and Munich held for twelve years the chair of

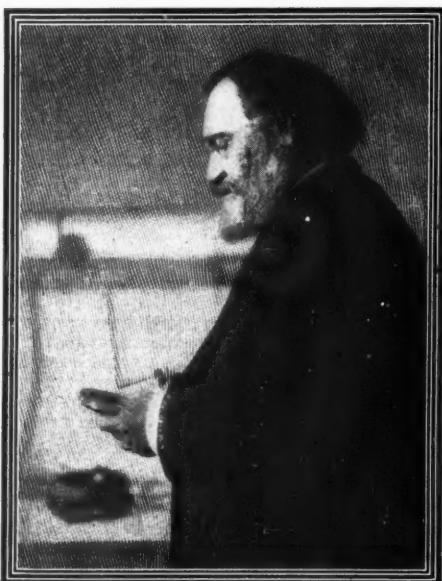
zoölogy at Odessa. In 1882 he resigned his professorship in order to devote himself to private research; and two years later he published his epoch-making memoir on what he called "intracellular digestion." An anonymous writer in the London *Graphic* says of him:

Élie Metchnikoff is a remarkable man, Russian to the core in frame of mind and in appearance, although he has long been domiciled in France. Contrary to popular belief, Metchnikoff is not a medical man. By profession he is a zoölogist. . . . It was while working at lowly organized sponges that Metchnikoff first made those observations which have constituted the basis of all his subsequent work.

Prior to this, Haeckel had made his classical observations on the most lowly organized creature—the amoeba. This is a formless single mass of jelly, which moves slowly, by throwing out limbs, from place to place. When it comes across food particles it takes them into its interior. What it cannot use is rejected, the creature moving on to fresh pastures. Metchnikoff found that this process, analogous to digestion, is prevalent in all animals up to complex man.

Animals in the course of evolution become complex: they consist of colonies of cells. The absorption of food and the protection of their bodies against injury become the work of certain cells; and to these Metchnikoff gave the name of "phagocytes or devouring cells." He will be known to posterity as the creator of the doctrine of phagocytosis. Science has established the fact that most diseases are due to microbes, which sooner or later destroy us all. Metchnikoff asked himself the question, "Why do people grow old?"

His answer has been that we are gradually injured and poisoned by bacteria which we carry with



METCHNIKOFF, HEAD OF THE PASTEUR INSTITUTE

us throughout life, particularly in the alimentary canal. . . . The food we eat is only partly of use to us as fuel. A large part is useless, and is rejected in a state of decomposition brought about by bacteria, which we harbor throughout life. The healthy new-born child comes into the world devoid of microbes, but even in a few hours has become infected, and remains so. According to Metchnikoff a large part of our ills is due to this infection. The bacteria live on our useless products, cause fermentations, and the production of poisons, and we are slowly, but surely, poisoned. The manifestation of this poison is a failure of all our faculties, and the onset, often premature, of old age. His latest work is an attempt to combat senility. This he tries to do by diminishing the amount of fermentation in the alimentary system. At first he was bold enough to urge that the bowel, being useless, should be removed, but as this measure was unlikely to meet with universal approval, he has suggested a less drastic measure. He has studied the causes of longevity, and has been led to the belief that this is principally due to the consumption of simple food, especially milk.

It is said that longevity is high in certain eastern European countries where sour milk is the main, if not the exclusive, article of diet. Apart from the fact that milk leaves a relatively small undigested

residue, the souring bacteria, according to Metchnikoff, displaced the harmful bacteria, and thus, if the consumption of sour milk were continued over a long period, our lives would be prolonged.

The *Graphic* writer states that the basis of the new doctrine is not yet established on sound foundations; and at the meeting of the British Medical Association held in London in July last opinion was divided on the subject of treatment with lactic acid organisms, popularly known as the sour-milk cure. One speaker stated that he had not met a single case in which the treatment had done harm, while another asserted that the most deleterious result of the indiscriminate use of curdled milk was rheumatism in some form or other. But apart from this debatable question, Metchnikoff's other researches show him to be a scientist of the first rank and fully entitled to the many honors he has received both on the continent of Europe and in England.

OUGHT FRENCHWOMEN TO VOTE?—WHAT SOME LEADING FRENCHMEN THINK

FRANCE and Feminism go naturally as well as alliteratively together. If French-women are not quite so militant in the cause as their English sisters, their activities are perhaps more widespread, while their persistency leaves no doubt as to their intention to carry the fight for woman suffrage to a successful end. The president of the French Union for Woman Suffrage has hit upon a plan for ascertaining just how and where the leading men of her country stand on the question. She has addressed a personal inquiry to each of them; and the replies have been handed to the editor of *La Revue* (Paris) who prints them *in extenso* in that journal. The guarded language of several of the letters show that the writers are somewhat unwilling to discourage their fair questioner by frankly admitting that they "are on the other side." We give a representative selection of the replies, which, for lack of space, are necessarily abridged. To take first those who declare out and out for woman suffrage:

M. Henri Monod, of the Academy of Medicine, says: "I am in favor of your project without restriction. While I see many reasons why from the suffrage point of view distinctions should be made between certain categories of citizens, I do not see that one of these distinctions should be the difference of the sexes."

M. Maurice Donnay, of the French Academy,

writes: "Given universal suffrage I consider women ought to vote. . . . And, without speaking politically, I believe that if women voted, important questions, such as social hygiene, prostitution, and alcoholism, would be promptly and satisfactorily settled."

M. Emile Faguet, also of the Academy, says: "My opinion on woman suffrage is well known. Women, taking them in mass, being a little less sensual, much less criminal, and infinitely less alcoholic than men, they ought, rather than men, to make the laws."

M. Paul Hervieu, another member of the Academy, writes: "I can only repeat that among the advances in electoral reform, one which would confer upon women the right to vote appears to me the most legitimate."

Next we have the replies of those who qualify their approval of the Feminist movement. For example:

Prof. Jacques Bardoux, of the School of Political Sciences, writes: "I am with you, at least partially. I see no reason for refusing to women, who in our country occupy so important a social and economic rôle, the right to vote. France is the country of peasants and shopkeepers. Noblesse oblige! Only I would advise proceeding by stages. I would first accord to women the vote, the electorate, and municipal eligibility. If experience warranted, I would permit them to take part in the cantonal elections. But I would stop there. The political electorate appears to me inseparable from military charges, at least at present."

Deputy Charles Beauquier says: "You may count me among the partisans of woman suffrage.



M. PAUL DESCHANEL

(Who declares himself "a partisan of woman suffrage")

But permit me to offer you and your companions the advice that in order to attain your end more surely, to begin by claiming the electorate, and eligibility at the municipal functions. . . . The proverb 'Chi va piano,' etc., [He that goes gently goes safely and far] appears to me singularly appropriate in this matter."

M. Paul Deschanel replies: "I am a partisan of woman suffrage. We should begin by introducing it at the municipal elections."

M. Jules Claretie writes: "I am of opinion that women should give their personal vote—inasmuch as if they do not vote they make others vote. And perhaps they would vote otherwise than those who vote for them."

Prof. Elie Halevy, of the School of Political Sciences, says: "I am unaware of any objection to the reform you favor. A single difficulty opposes itself to the realization of your project: it consists in the perfect apathy which the immense majority manifest toward reform."

Many of the replies, while countenancing the movement to a certain extent, frankly declare that the time has not yet come for women to enter the political arena. Among the replies setting forth this point of view are the following:

M. Gabriel Monod, of the Institute, says: "I am, in principle, very favorably disposed to woman suffrage: I think it would be much more logical to have in place of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies a chamber of men and another of women.

But, practically, I am not anxious to see in France women given the suffrage. Universal suffrage for men has given results so little satisfactory, that I am not desirous to see the number of incompetent electors increased."

M. Marcel Prevost, of the Academy, replies: "I consider that women have a right to seek the suffrage. . . . But, in practice, before they can exercise it usefully, they must progress. . . . Social equality with men implies the suppression of all the 'privileges of weakness' that they enjoy to-day. Until they renounce this pretended 'weakness' they will be unworthy of social and political equality."

Former Minister Yves Guyot writes: "I do not consider that the question of woman suffrage presses in France at this moment; nor is the action of the suffragettes in England calculated to evoke much sympathy. I believe, however, that in the not distant future women will become electors, and that they will even eliminate men from politics."

M. Henri Bernstein, the dramatist, says: "It has always appeared to me that before women enter upon political and civil equality it will be necessary to prepare them for a happy use of their new rights. True friends of the movement will devote themselves to this noble effort."

The most outspoken of those who are against woman suffrage is:

M. Henri de Varigny, who writes: "Universal suffrage for women would be simply a new calamity added to that which exists already—universal suffrage for men. But the suffrage might with advantage be accorded to a certain number of women, a proportionate number of men voters being retired. . . . Before managing the country, one should learn to manage oneself."

The subjection of women to clerical influence is thought by many to be a serious obstacle to the success of the movement. We quote some replies which express this view:

M. H. Poincaré, of the Academy, says: "Perhaps woman suffrage will be the sole means of combating alcoholism. I fear solely clerical influence over the women."

M. Alfred Fouilée, of the Institute, writes: "In Catholic countries, the votes of most of the women will be those of their confessors, who themselves will receive their orders from Rome."

Deputy Théodore Reinach's reply contains this passage: "I believe that woman suffrage would be a mistake which would bring serious consequences both for the country and for the women themselves. For the country, it would signify the probable triumphant return of clericalism."

For conciseness, and as an illustration of how not to commit oneself, the palm must, we think, be awarded to the two-line reply of Senator Maurice Faure:

"Alas! dear madame, I think too highly of it to say anything ill; and I augur too ill of it to say anything good."

JAPANESE EXPANSION IN LATIN AMERICA

JAPAN, at home, in Korea, and in Manchuria, has attracted so much public attention of late that her expansion in Mexico and in South America has remained practically unnoticed. Yet it is estimated that more than 15,000 Japanese are to be found on the coasts of Latin America, most of them in Chile and Brazil. "When, in 1907 and 1908, Japanese emigrants were turned back from Anglo-Saxon America," writes M. Henri Labroue in *La Revue du Mois* (Paris), "they made their way farther south, toward the states where the prejudice against 'color' is less pronounced, where manual labor is scarce and solicited by the governments themselves, where wages are higher, and where the resources of the soil are boundless." He adds, with evident satisfaction:

Perhaps the day may come when the competition of Japanese labor will provoke, here as elsewhere, rivalries and distrust; but at present it is almost nil. In this vast colonization field of Latin America, the Japanese can themselves take part in the cultivation of waste lands, enlarging the circle of their activity, and promoting their interests and their influence, for the greater glory of the Land of the Rising Sun.

Publicists, governments, and steamship companies—all unite in offering great inducements to Japanese emigrants; and direct service now exists between Japan and all the principal South American ports.

The Mexican Government has done its best to attract Japanese commerce and colonists. To emigrants it grants the following advantages: reimbursement of the expenses of the voyage; maintenance expenses for fifteen days on the territory chosen by the immigrant; subventions toward agricultural or industrial enterprises; exemption from military service during the ten years next following naturalization; exemption from all save local taxes; exemption from customs duties on alimentary products, such as rice, that are raised only on a limited scale, if at all, in Mexico. The Japanese have reason to congratulate themselves on the result of their amicable relations with Mexico; for, while the importation of Mexican products into Japan has fallen from 417,000 francs in 1905 to 810 francs in 1908, Mexico's imports of Japanese products have risen from 23,000 francs in 1890 to 1,800,000 francs in 1908. In December, 1906, a thousand immigrants from Japan arrived in Mexico, and ever since there has been a steady stream of them.

It was Peru, with its coffee, cotton, and

sugar plantations, besides its mines and forests, that first attracted Japanese emigrants to South America. From 1899 to 1908 more than 5000 of the latter arrived in Peru. Here also special inducements are held out to newcomers. The Japanese children are educated free in the public schools, and on attaining their majority remain Japanese; all Japanese may become naturalized after two years' residence in Peru. The Government even grants to the immigrants the very rights that the Japanese themselves refuse to foreigners; namely, the right to buy land, and to exploit mines.

The *Revue* writer points out some remarkable parallels between Japan and Chile in the matters of configuration, climate, industries, and history. The friendly relations of the two countries were cemented by a treaty of commerce and navigation concluded in 1897. About 1500 Japanese emigrate to Chile yearly. In January of this present year the first direct service between Japan and Chile was inaugurated with the *Kiyo-Marou*, a vessel of 17,000 tons.

Among the 6,210,000 of its inhabitants, Argentina received in the latter half of the nineteenth century 3,400,000 immigrants, yet among them there was not until 1908 a single Japanese colony. The incomparable advantages of the country, and its tremendous possibilities for the immigrant, soon led the Japanese Government to subsidize a steamship service via the Cape of Good Hope, and a large trade has since sprung up between the two countries. The number of Japanese emigrating to the Argentine Republic continues to increase; and the immigrants are found cultivating the soil or installed as shopkeepers.

If Argentina seeks Japanese commerce rather than Japanese immigration, Brazil is anxious to secure the latter. The Chinese having showed themselves averse to agricultural labor, the Japanese are welcomed; for by their aid the Brazilians hope to develop the exploitation of coffee in the south and rubber along the Amazon. A treaty, similar to that with Chile, was concluded between Japan and Brazil in 1897. In December, 1907, there were only 40 Japanese in Brazil; in 1908 over 780 arrived at Santos; the same year 2500 coolies came over; and in 1909 no fewer than 3000 left the Land of the Rising Sun for Brazil. Japanese expansion in Brazil is assuming such dimensions that some Brazilians see in it an element of danger, and have begun to agitate against it.

PROTECTION FOR CITIZENS RESIDING ABROAD

IN the address which, as president of the American Society of International Law, the Hon. Elihu Root delivered in Washington on April 28 last, regarding the protection which a nation should extend over its citizens residing abroad, much useful information was forthcoming on a subject about which a considerable degree of public misunderstanding exists. The address has been printed in the *American Journal of International Law*, from which we cull a few of the more important passages.

Senator Root directs attention to the fact that among the great throngs of emigrants may be distinguished two somewhat different classes—one composed of those who have left their native country to build up homes for themselves; the other, of those who seek means for the better support of the families and friends they have left behind them, or for their own future support after the return to which they look forward. The United States has limited the practice, which had been seriously abused, of allowing the natives of other countries to become naturalized here for the purpose of returning to their homes or of seeking a residence in other lands with the benefit of American protection.

It was estimated that there were in Turkey seven or eight thousand natives of that country who had secured naturalization in the United States and had gone home to live with the advantage over their friends and neighbors of being able to call upon the American embassy for assistance whenever they were not satisfied with the treatment they received from their own government. At the time of the troubles in Morocco, an examination of the list of American citizens in Morocco showed that one-half of the list consisted of natives of Morocco who had been naturalized in the United States and had left this country and gone back to Morocco within three months after obtaining their naturalization papers.

To check this abuse, a new rule was adopted in 1907, under which, if a naturalized citizen leaves this country, two years' residence in the country of his origin, or five years' residence in any other country, creates a presumption of renunciation of the citizenship he has acquired here, and the obligation of protection by the United States is deemed to be ended.

The simplest form of protection is that exercised by strong countries whose citizens are found in parts of the earth under the jurisdiction of governments too weak to preserve order. The Boxer rebellion in China is an illustration. On a smaller scale, troops have often been

landed from men-of-war for the protection of their national citizens during revolutionary disturbances, as in Central America and the West Indies. As between countries able to maintain order within their own territories, the rule of obligation is perfectly distinct and settled.

Each country is bound to give to the nationals of another country in its territory the benefit of the same laws, the same protection, the same administration, and the same redress for injury which it gives to its own citizens, and neither more nor less: provided the protection which the country gives to its own citizens conforms to the established standard of civilization.

The United States, Mr. Root tells us, fails, in one important respect, to comply with its international obligation: Section 5508 of the Revised Statutes, making conspiracy to injure or oppress a citizen an offense punishable with very heavy fine and a term of imprisonment, does not apply to aliens. Consequently we have had to pay indemnities in cases of mobbing of Chinamen, and lynching of Italians and Mexicans.

Many citizens abroad are apt to complain that justice has been denied them whenever they are beaten in litigation, forgetting that they would complain just the same at home. *Ignorantia legis neminem excusat* is a widely accepted maxim; but aliens generally do not know it, and they do not seem to realize that the laws and police regulations of the country of their adoption cannot be made over to suit them. Every one who goes into a foreign country is bound to obey its laws; and if he disobeys them, he is not entitled to be protected against punishment under those laws. But there can be no crime which leaves a man without legal rights. He must not be punished without such a hearing as the accepted principles of justice demand; and if that right be denied to the most desperate criminal in a foreign country, his own government can and ought to protect him against wrong. Happily, concludes Senator Root, the same causes which are making questions of alien protection so frequent are at the same time "bringing about among all civilized peoples a better understanding of the rights and obligations created by the presence of the alien in a foreign country; a fuller acceptance of the common international standard of justice, and a gradual reduction of the local prejudices and misunderstandings."

PERSIA'S MIRACLE PLAY

OF the two hundred thousand visitors to the Passion Play at Oberammergau, comparatively few, probably, are aware that in Asia also there has been developed a miracle play which, wherever presented, excites the profoundest emotion. This play, entitled "Hasan and Husain," is given annually in both Persia and India, and requires ten days for its presentation. A study of it is contributed to the *Open Court* by Miss Bertha Johnston, who thus summarizes its chief characteristics, as noted from personal observation by an English official long resident in the Orient:

It is singular in its intolerable length; in the fact of the representation extending over many days; in its marvelous effects upon a Mussulman audience, both male and female; in the curious mixture of hyperbole and archaic simplicity of language; and in the circumstance that the so-called unities of time and space are not only ignored but abolished. The Prophet Mohammed and his family are at once the central figures and moving spirits of the whole. . . . Mohammed appears on the scene at will; and with him it seems to be a universal Here and a universal Now.

The play had its origin in the disputes over the proper succession to the caliphate on the death of the Prophet. There were four claimants: Abu Beker, Omar, and Othman, the three fathers-in-law of Mohammed, and Ali, his first cousin and the husband of his daughter Fatima. Receiving the support of the Sunnis or Traditionalists, the fathers-in-law in turn succeeded the Prophet in his high office; but when Persia was conquered by the Saracens, she, to spite her Turkish conquerors, affiliated with the powerful sect of the Shiahs or Shiites, who claimed that the rightful succession lay through Ali and his descendants. In 770 Hasan, a son of Ali, was poisoned by the Sunnis, and ten years later, on the plains of Karbala, his brother Husain was killed in battle. It is around the martyrdom of these two grandsons of the Prophet that the play centers. A rough idea of the chief scenes may be gathered from the following brief extracts from Miss Johnston's account:

The introductory scene, as in the Oberammergau play, goes back to the casting of Joseph into the pit. Jacob, bemoaning the loss of Joseph, seems to foresee the future; for he wonders "what will be the feelings of Fatima, the mother of Husain, when she sees her son's bloodstained coat after he shall have been put to death in a most cruel manner."

Another scene pictures Fatima combing the locks of her little son Husain. The pulling of a hair causes him to cry out; and then the angel

Gabriel reminds her of her greater anguish to come.

The deathbed of Mohammed is depicted. The prophet addresses in turn each beloved member of his family, and foretells the particular woes in store for them. As Mohammed dies he exclaims: "Oh let me suffer the severity of death, instead of my people. Give all the afflictions and sorrows of my followers to me alone to bear."

Scattered in the dialogues are allusions to Mary and Christ, reminding us that Jesus is revered by the Mohammedans almost as much as by Christians. Some of the more powerful situations are: the murder of Ali in a mosque by the traitor Ibn Muljam; the poisoning of Hasan by his wife, and his death agonies; the killing of Husain—the women, with uncovered heads (a terrible ordeal for Eastern women), being led through the streets of the conquering city; and the final scene, of the Judgment Day, when the angel Gabriel calls up the dead, and they learn how unavailing are any means of salvation other than the martyrdom of Husain.

The play abounds in examples of the extravagances of the Oriental style of speech; as, for example:

A maiden is "beautiful as the moon on the fourth night." "Let me know if Heaven has rolled up the carpet of my life." "Time has pelted the bottle of my heart with cruel stones." "I am a doorkeeping dog in the street of thy affection and faith."

The stage setting is of the simplest. In Persia the larger houses all have their own *tabut* or *tazia*: among the wealthier, these are fixtures of gold, silver, ivory, and inlaid work. The stage is a kind of movable pulpit, with no wings to conceal the comings and goings of the actors. A lion's skin, suspended, shows the onlookers that the scene is one in a desert. A silver basin of water symbolizes the Euphrates. Chopped straw represents the ashes with which the mourners bestrew their disheveled hair. And yet, with all this simplicity, the powerful story affects millions of men and women to a frenzy of excitement, and to the wildest demonstrations of grief and passion.

Miss Johnston draws a parallel between the Persian play and that of Oberammergau, but it can hardly be said that there are many real resemblances in the one to the other. "Which audience is most inspired to forgetfulness of injuries, to loving service, 'to deeds of daring rectitude'? That is the final test by which both plays must be judged."

“SYNDICALISM” AND EUROPE’S PARLIAMENTARY CRISES

SYNDICALISM is the name commonly given to a movement that demands the basing of all political organization on the more stable and deep-reaching economical organization. Largely anarchistic in its origins, it has until recently been narrowly “proletarian” in its appeals. In France, Belgium and the Scandinavian countries it has assumed an openly hostile attitude towards existing institutions. Its spread has been remarkably rapid and has given rise to grave apprehensions on the part of those who see in the parliamentary representation the only guarantee of orderly progress. It is, therefore, highly significant when, of late, one middle-class writer after another begins to advocate ideas practically identical with some of those that have kept such large percentages of the French working classes from any participation in political elections under existing conditions.

The explanation for this change lies in the growing recognition of the fact that modern political institutions are at heart tied up with economic interests and cannot be reformed until this connection becomes openly admitted and applied. Writing on this theme in *Gads Danske Magasin* (Copenhagen), Dr. Arthur Christensen demands nothing less than “an organization of universal suffrage that will make it truly representative of classes, professions and trades.” He says:

The growth of Socialism in all countries has its natural explanation in the fact that it has been most consistent in following the historical development from old dogmas toward a predominance of trade interests. Socialism alone has consciously connected politics with the opposed interest of different classes. It has organized the working masses into a one-sided fight for the interests of the workers. There is nothing to counterbalance it, for the other strata of society have failed to re-establish their politics on this basis. They continue their perennial fight against the same old windmills. Adherence to anti-socialistic fusion movements gives no promises for the future, because movements with purely negative objects have no lasting vital power. It is not uncommon in middle-class circles to meet with a resigned conviction that we are moving steadily toward socialistic tyranny of one kind or another. But if middle-class society is sound at heart, and if its very marrow has not been touched by the injuries inflicted by democratic government, then it will react naturally. It will be forced into self-defense through an organization of its own social forces, and these middle-class organizations will be forced to employ politics just as the Social Democracy has long been doing. Thus the fight will be carried on hereafter on a more even footing, and the main

step will be taken from the representation of mere numbers toward the representation of interests.

Dr. Christensen not only criticizes prevailing parliamentary methods, but he cites instances showing how we are already working away from them. In Germany he finds this new movement most developed, and there he thinks it will find its first political embodiment.

On June 12, 1909, not less than 6000 representatives of industry, trade, commerce and finance gathered in the Circus Schumann at Berlin and formed a Hanseatic Union for Trades, Commerce and Industry to act as a balance against the aristocratic agrarian Union of Landed Proprietors. The expressly stated object of the new organization was to protect the interests of the economical groups already mentioned and to nominate candidates from their own membership for the national parliament as well as for the various state diets. If this new institution should prove itself capable of growth, as there is every reason to believe that it will, then the political life of Germany will have not less than three great economical organizations armed for mutual struggle: the Agrarian Union, the Hanseatic Union, and the Social Democracy. This is probably the clearest indication of our future political development that has so far been observed in any country. And other signs are not wanting to prove that this reorganization of politics on an economical-social basis will be carried rapidly forward in Germany. Only last October a Union of Salaried Officials was formed at Berlin. More than thirty societies of government employees and others took part in the start of this new organization. Its object is “to represent the economical-political and cultural interests of national, state, communal and private officials and teachers,” and especially “to promote the election of representatives that show sufficient understanding of the interests of such officials.”

Harking back to the long-overlooked writings of the Belgian professor, Adolphe Prins, who, as early as 1884, advocated trade representation in the national parliaments, Dr. Christensen concludes with the following suggestions for the solution of “the parliamentary crisis that constitutes the great disease of the century”:

With or without revolutions, help must come through a reform of the representative system. The special advantage of this system over autocracy lies in the very fact that, while autocracy cannot be reformed without ceasing to be autocratic, the representative system may be said to contain unlimited possibilities of modification and improvement. We have tried one way, and it has not proved to be the right one. Therefore another one has to be tried. An abundance of crushed illusions ought to have taught us that politics have but little to do with ideals, and that what determines

everything in the end are the solid material interests of the various classes. Nothing can then seem more natural than an effort to exploit the motive power inherent in class egoism in a rational manner for the good of society. This may be done by letting each economical group fight for itself, and by using the constitution as well as a special na-

tional representation to keep those interests within control and to represent the nation in its dealings with the outside world. The desired results might be obtained through a system of two houses, in which the lower house should represent class interests, while the upper one represented territorial divisions.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE UNITED STATES ARMY?

“WELL, what *is* wrong?” (with emphasis on the “*is*”), asks the plain citizen. He is so accustomed to think of the army and navy as among “the best ever” that he is completely nonplussed when to his question he receives the reply: “Wrong? Why just this: during the last year nearly five thousand enlisted men deserted, and during the past ten years there have been *over fifty thousand deserters from our regular army.*” Truly an astounding and humiliating piece of information for the plain citizen! And if *he* is disgusted with it, is it surprising that the Adjutant-General, in his latest report, says: “That there should have been nearly five thousand desertions from the army of the United States during the last fiscal year is simply a disgrace to the army and a reproach to American citizenship”? The percentage of desertions for the same period was 4.97, whereas in the British army it was only 1.7, and this in an organization of 263,000 men. Mr. Bailey Millard, from whose article on “The Shame of our Army,” in the *Cosmopolitan*, these figures are taken, says we shall gain no consolation by looking into the details. Not an atom.

For example, take the Sixth Infantry. From that regiment 142 men deserted, or 12 per cent. of the whole number. Blackest of all records . . . was that of Company K of the 28th Infantry, located at Fort Snelling, Minnesota. Of the men in this company *nearly one third* became disgusted with the service and fared forth to other fields of usefulness.

Fort Snelling is an attractive place from a soldier’s point of view; the barracks are new and comfortable; and the climate, save in winter, is not severe. The men who deserted did not like the officers over them, nor the kind of work they had to do. Doubtless Mr. Millard is right when he says:

It is a shock to most young Americans who have enlisted in the army to taste the delights of military life to find that the most important part of their training, from the viewpoint of their post commander, is to dig ditches, wash pots and pans,

wait on table, clean out stables, sweep off walks, or cut brush in the hot sun. Those were the conditions the deserters just mentioned found in the army. Soon they began to loathe the life. It sickened their souls, it humbled their pride, and they ran away from the service.

It must be frankly confessed that the more one reads of Mr. Millard’s article the less palatable do the assertions he makes become. For instance, it is anything but gratifying to one’s national pride to read that, whereas in the colored companies there were three with no desertions in 1909, and few desertions from the others, yet among the white companies *there were only five from which there were no desertions.*

There is another point on which as a nation we can scarcely pride ourselves, and that is the way we treat deserters. In 1908 the War Department decided that something must be done to stop the wholesale desertion from the army. The Bertillon system of measuring, photographing (“mugging”), and finger-prints records was introduced. Four thousand posters with a photograph were issued in each case; and the reward for the capture of a deserter was raised from ten dollars to fifty. Private detective agencies soon reaped a fat harvest, and in 1909 there were gathered in 2,257 runaways. To quote Mr. Millard further:

The War Department is bent upon correcting the “laxity of public opinion” on the subject of desertion. . . . When a man deserts from our army in these peaceful times, he loses his rights of citizenship, his pay and his clothes, is dismissed with dishonor from the service, and, if captured, is condemned to hard labor and prison fare. If in the meantime he should try to return to the army, by going to another post, he is not only sentenced for desertion but also for fraudulent enlistment. The “mugging” and the finger-prints give him no chance of escape.

They manage things better in England. Long ago they discovered that the harsher you are with the deserter the more there is of him. Consequently year by year the punish-

ment for desertion has been decreased; and the aim has been to remove the stigma of prison from deserters entirely. Thus we read:

If a British soldier deserts in time of peace, he retains his citizenship and is often taken back into the army. In 1908, of 4,766 deserters, 1,728 rejoined the army. In the case of the U. S. Army, those 1,728 would have been lost to the service and most of them would still be in prison cells.

It is claimed that one great cause of desertion from our army is the long absences and from their regiments of so many officers. The

work of training them devolves upon inexperienced young men; and, as one private put it: "Soldiers hate to obey the orders of some young squirt fresh from the Point." That many men do not want to stay in the army is shown by the fact that in three years 4,589 bought their way out of it. This is easy enough for the sons of well-to-do parents; but the poorer brother in arms has no alternative but to run away, be dishonorably discharged, be placarded all over the country, and, if captured, serve a term in prison, and lose his citizenship.

HORSE VERSUS AUTOMOBILE: A FRENCH VIEW

THAT the passing of our friend the horse is only a question of time, few will, we think, be disposed to deny; and however much the breeders of the animal may strive to arrest the progress of public opinion in the adoption of this view, the relentless figures which each succeeding year piles up against them leave little room to doubt that they will ere long have to accept the inevitable, and, with what grace they may, admit defeat at the hands of the "horseless." Some noteworthy statistics of the competition between the horse and the automobile appear in an article by M. Daniel Bellet in the *Economiste Français*. By way of introduction M. Bellet cites the remarks of certain speakers at meetings of the Société Nationale d'Agriculture, who sought to prove that the horse-breeding industry had nothing to fear from the increase of automobiles, and that the country in which machinery was most used would have greater need of horses than ever. This optimistic view is scarcely sustained by the figures which M. Bellet proceeds to give. Speaking of the United States he says:

In the American confederation it is estimated that there are more than 130,000 automobiles, besides some 35,000 motor trucks, delivery wagons, etc., and 150,000 motor cycles and tricycles. Eight years ago the number of automobiles in the United States did not exceed 6000.

In Great Britain the development in automobileing has been enormous. In that country there are 85,000 automobiles, 15,000 industrial motor wagons, trucks, etc., 9000 motor vehicles employed in public transportation, such as the auto-buses and cabs, and an army of 75,000 motor cycles, tricycles, and quadricycles. In London, the competition between autobuses and taxicabs and the horse-drawn vehicles is so keen that it is evi-

dent a very large number of horses must have been withdrawn from their former employment. Further, the number of two-wheel vehicles (horse-drawn, or "hippomobiles," as M. Bellet terms them) was reduced 1300 in a single year, and the number of four-wheel 400. Sir John Macdonald is quoted as stating before the Royal Automobile Club of London that the number of horses in London had been reduced within six years from 450,000 to 110,000.

In Germany the number of automobiles had increased from about 10,000 in 1903 to 50,000 in 1910, to which must be added many mechanical vehicles circulating on the roads of the Empire.

In France the 3000 automobiles of all sorts which represented the total in 1900, have increased to about 45,000. Since 1905, in the cities especially, the horse has given place to the motor. To quote M. Bellet further:

In Paris in the space of two years the number of horses decreased 14,000. In the Department of the Seine the decrease was also 14,000. The number of "hippomobiles" decreased more than 2000 in 1907, mainly due to the introduction of more than 5000 taxicabs. . . . In ten years the number of carriages *de luxe* was reduced by 50,000 units, while the number of horses, affected by this decrease, sank from 128,000 to 92,000 head.

One result of this displacement of the horse in Paris has been the possibility of acquiring at a cheap rate good horses discarded by the purchasers of automobiles. Another, according to M. Bellet, is that many who formerly went on foot, now, in view of the reduced cost of horses, ride. On the other hand, a serious problem is presented to the farmers and market gardeners by the scarcity of manure which must inevitably follow the supersession of the horse, unless some suitable substitute at a reasonable cost is forthcoming.

WILL THE NATIONS EVER ABOLISH THEIR NAVIES?

IN the same number of the *Deutsche Revue* which contains in full the address of Mr. Andrew Carnegie to the Peace Society in London last May there is a strong article by the German Rear-Admiral E. Kalan von Hofe, on international naval disarmament. The German seaman does not believe such disarmament possible. His high rank and experience lends a good deal of authority to his words.

Admiral von Hofe, who seems to be replying to Mr. Roosevelt's speech at the Nobel Institute at Christiania, on the promotion of international peace, begins by remarking that the Russian Czar's Peace Manifesto did not prevent the war in Cuba and in the Philippines, or the Boer War, or the Russo-Japanese War. More recently Anglo-German relations have given rise to considerable anxiety, though no one outside British spheres of influence could see why the peace of the world should be disturbed merely because Germany was building a fleet suitable to her needs. At the same time other nations have been increasing their naval expenditure, England most of all. Yet, notwithstanding this great increase, the desire for peace among the nations has never before been so strong as it is at present.

A GERMAN VIEW OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Had Mr. Roosevelt studied the practical conditions of an international understanding in the matter of armaments, he would, argues the writer, have been obliged to modify his proposals with reference to a peace league of the great powers. Since the war with Spain, armaments in the United States had increased to such an extent that the American Congress last year found it advisable to reduce the expenditure.

The Monroe Doctrine may be very beautiful, continues the German admiral, but it may become too dear. That the American fleet should have become the second in the world was surely in a measure due to Mr. Roosevelt. The ex-President of the United States is a man of action, who also speaks and writes much—not, however, from a full heart, but as a diplomatist and politician. He knows his Americans, and he is imbued with the great dream of American Imperialism. As a means of realizing American ideals, he recognizes next to the dollar a strong fleet and a strong army as all-important—the

police force, as it is euphemistically called on the other side of the Atlantic, to keep in order the turbulent republics of Central and South America.

With the best will in the world, international naval disarmament could only benefit a few while such enormous differences in the size of the fleets continue to exist. In fact, only the strongest fleet, namely, the English, could have any real use for disarmament. Till England begins to disarm there is little prospect of any international disarmament. Every idea of disarmament, concludes the writer, must be considered Utopian so long as Great Britain feels that she is not a European state, but regards herself as the head of the British Empire, whose interests come before those of Europe. The development which things on the continent have made in the last three decades does not make England feel comfortable. Her political influence is not so effective as it used to be, the dogma of her naval supremacy is no longer recognized so unconditionally, and the inadequacy of her military organization produced the ridiculous invasion panic, and compelled her to concentrate her entire fleet in the North Sea. But it must also be recognized that England has begun to restrain herself and to abandon untenable positions. For instance, she retreated bravely before the Monroe Doctrine, but she is less inclined to do likewise with regard to the European continent. But she knows her power and force; she is too strong and too proud to abandon her unique position. *Noblesse oblige*. She still believes in the necessity of her unconditional supremacy on the seas for the peace of the world; to her as the chosen people naval supremacy has been entrusted, and she feels it a duty to fight for it. Critical times await her, and as matters at present stand Europeans must wait—but not disarm.

Why Not a Limitation of Tonnage?

The limitation of armaments, writes Commandant Léonce Abeille in the *Revue de Paris*, can only be brought about by peace; the limitation of tonnage would, on the contrary, tend towards the organization of arbitration, and he invites the friends of peace to help to lighten the burden of armed peace by taking up this cause. While reducing the naval expenditure of the different nations, this reform

would not interfere with the right of any nation to construct as many units as it chose.

Three to Two or Two to One?

Mr. Elmer Roberts, writing in *Scribner's Magazine* on the "German and British Navies," attempts to explain the present limits of German ambition.

While the German naval promoters have never planned for a navy equal to that of Great Britain, he says, they do work for a navy that would make the British Government hesitate to attack Germany under avoidable circumstances and that would suggest a civil attitude should the two Govern-

ments have different policies upon a subject of mutual interest. German naval plans leave to Britain superiority on the sea, but not such a superiority as leaves German shipping, the sprinkling of German colonies, and immense German investments in other countries defenseless. Instead of a proportion of seven to one, which represented the ratio of naval strength on the morning the Kruger telegram was sent, the proportion when the German projects are completed is likely to be about three to two in favor of Great Britain. Mr. Roberts warns the British people that they will have to become accustomed to a certain diminution of their international position.

LOT OF THE GERMAN WORKINGMAN

THE German laborer and worker in field and shop is awakening to a consciousness of his needs and his power. A character sketch of the type of this class is contributed to *Chambers' Journal* by Richard Thirsk.

The descendant of long generations of peasants, says this writer, he has been lured into the workshop by the promise of greater gain and easier conditions. The first shock of the change from the field to the factory is still upon him, and he has not yet quite settled down to the new conditions. But he is waking up to a knowledge of his own strength. The coming of the workingman also marks the transformation of Germany from an agricultural to an industrial nation, and the metamorphosis has been so sudden that the Government has not been able to keep pace with the movement. Nevertheless, the Government takes care to claim a considerable amount of the workman's income besides personal service during the best twenty years of his life, and in return for this it husbands for him a pension and sees to it that he is politically sound.

The latter is, perhaps, the sorest point of all, and his loudest grumble, naturally, is that he has no voice in national affairs, though he has to hand over to the Treasury a large share of the fruits of his toil. In those assemblies where he has a vote he is rendered impotent by the weight of superior authority. The Government's reluctance to grant reform is the chief reason why the German workman is a Social Democrat. Apart from taxes, his political interests are limited. The taxes have gone up by leaps and bounds, the cost of living has greatly increased, and there is no rise in wages; out of his 20s. or 28s. a week he has to pay three direct taxes—income tax,

town tax and church tax. Income tax begins with an income of £45 a year and amounts to 14s. The workman must also contribute to the insurance funds, and there are taxes on railway tickets, theater tickets, etc.; while indirect taxes embrace nearly everything used at the table. The writer says it is not tariffs which make life so expensive to the workingman of the Fatherland so much as the forced and unnatural development of the country.

As to home life, working-class families living in flats nearly always let off a room to a night-lodger, who comes in late in the evening and vacates the room early in the morning, so that the family may have the use of the room in the day. Often many night-lodgers are taken and the family sleep in the kitchen. Yet it must be admitted that while the conditions are so hard, there is less apparent poverty in large towns in Germany than we see in England. It is explained that the authorities compel even the poorest to keep up an air of respectability, and factory laws compel the workman to take a certain pride in his personal appearance—outside the factory.

At the Labor Bureaus the unemployed must first pay a registration fee, then they must attend daily at the office and wait until something turns up. Rather than wait all day at the Labor Bureau capable workmen prefer to take the chance of obtaining work by interviewing employers. The writer says in conclusion that the atmosphere is heavy with unrest and discontent. When the German workman's political education is more advanced, he is destined to play an important part in the affairs of his country, and possibly in the destiny of Europe.

THE RELIGIOUS FELLOWSHIP MOVEMENT IN GERMANY

A NEW evangelistic movement in the university students and other people of culture by means of courses of lectures. Magazines and newspapers in the interests of the movement, especially weekly sheets and all sorts of monthlies, are constantly increasing in numbers.

This movement is called variously the Inner Church Evangelization, the Revival Movement, and the Fellowship Movement (*Gemeinschaftsbewegung*). It has been called also, the New Pietism. Among its characteristics are mentioned that it has seized upon the laity more than upon the clergy. It is distinctively a movement of the laity and of the relatively young. Among its advantages are mentioned its interest in the evangelization of the entire people, its disposition to seek publicity, and its strong assertion that "justification" must manifest itself in the sanctification of the daily life.

The progress of the movement has been remarkable for its rapidity in all parts of the Empire, displaying only energy, advancement, and a loud manifestation of enthusiasm and confidence. There is a fellowship formed within every church that will permit it. There are meetings for prayer and conference, and for the exposition of the Scriptures, marked by much informality. Voluntary song and prayer and testimony are made prominent. District conferences are held, some for believing merchants, others for believing bakers, others for a course of Bible study. Evangelists, usually laymen, travel from place to place in order to form or encourage fellowships. There are men of thorough education who work amongst the

Schools are kept up for the training of the laborers. Fourteen are named; the majority have an attendance of sixty or eighty, with graduating classes of ten or fifteen. For entrance, only a desire to do religious work, a public school education, and bodily and mental health are required. Some of the schools are for men, some for women. Buildings are being erected in all parts of the empire for the meetings. In Königsberg the building will accommodate 1200 persons. An itinerant preacher named Wittekind states that they have no thought of separating from the established church, but desire only to work unhindered within her communion. Justification through faith alone, the Holy Scriptures the highest authority, and therefore, inerrant, are the chief points.

Our associations can no longer endure preaching in which the unbelief of modern theology finds expression. They simply refuse any longer to hear such preaching. They cannot be constrained any longer to attend church out of reverence or in the traditional manner.

The attitude of the church towards fellowships, as of the fellowships towards the church, is one of suspicion, though not of pronounced antagonism.

FRANCE'S IRON RICHES THAT GERMANY DID NOT GET

THAT France has deposits of iron exceeding those of any other country in the world is the somewhat surprising statement made by M. Leon Polier, a well-known French economist. In the course of a long, statistical article in the *Revista d'Italia*, of Rome, M. Polier gives some very interesting data connected with the iron industry of the republic. He recalls some historical facts about the iron ore deposits in Lorraine, in the department of Meurthe et Moselle, that are worth repeating. These deposits, he tells us, had been worked to a small extent prior to 1860. The intro-

duction of the Bessemer process in the iron industry, however, put a stop to activity in this region, for this process, in its original form, was only applicable to ores containing little or no phosphorus, while the iron ores of Lorraine have a considerable percentage of this substance. However, M. Polier believes that but for this circumstance France might not now be in possession of her iron fields. He says:

"'Tis an ill wind that blows no one good," and this setback, which appeared at the time to be a grave disaster, was, on the contrary, a rare piece

of good fortune. It is almost certain that if the true value of the Lorraine deposits had not at the time been uncertain, these deposits would not now belong to France, but would be contributing to the brilliant economic development of Germany. For the region of these iron beds touches the borders of that part of Lorraine ceded to Germany. Indeed, they extend into German territory. If, at the time the treaty of Frankfort was made, phosphoric iron had not been so discredited by the invention of the Bessemer process, the victors would certainly have insisted upon extending the frontier farther to the west, so as to include the entire mineral region.

Some years later, about 1878, the "basic process" of Thomas and Gillchrist was made public. This is exclusively adapted to the treatment of iron high in phosphorus, such as that of Lorraine, and from this period dates the resumption of work in the fields and the advance of France in iron production.

According to the most moderate estimates, German Lorraine contains 1100 million tons of iron ore, Luxemburg 300 million tons, Belgium 50 million tons; the French deposits, however, contain no less than 2390 million

tons. These figures lead M. Polier to the conclusion that France has deposits of iron exceeding those of any other country.

Of course it is highly probable that additional large deposits will be discovered in other lands. It is also true that the so-called "basic process," applied to iron containing much phosphorus, is somewhat more expensive than the "acid," or original Bessemer process. Moreover, the iron beds of Lorraine are composed of what is known as "lean ore," the percentage of iron being much less than in many other mines. Still, in spite of all this, there can be no reasonable doubt that the Lorraine iron fields constitute one of the most valuable assets of France.

France is not rich in coal, a prime essential for the manufacture of iron and steel on a scale commensurate with her supply of the raw material. This fact, however, does not daunt M. Polier. He sees in the growing use of the electric furnace a possible substitute for coal, and finds in the immense water power at the disposal of France, notably in her Alpine streams and those of the Vosges Mountains, an inexhaustible supply of electric energy.

CAUSES OF THE PERSIAN REVOLUTION

A NATIVE of Persia, Arjavir Tjilin-Kirian, has contributed to the Stuttgart weekly, the *Neue Zeit*, an interesting article which gives, in perspective, the main social and economic causes underlying the late political revolution in his country. His summary attracts attention more through the analogies, obvious or inferable, between the factors that brought about the Persian upheaval of the twentieth century and the French cataclysm of the eighteenth.

As in ancient times so in the Middle Ages Persia had active trade relations with Europe. Merchants continually came from Genoa and Venice, and later on from Amsterdam and London, in quest of fine silks and precious stones and other articles of luxury. But with the rise of European industrialism Western trading companies became anxious not only to buy from the Persians, but to sell to them, so that in all towns of any consequence there were foreign houses importing textiles, metal wares, sugar, tea, petroleum, and so forth.

The quantities of these importations rose quickly. According to figures stated in the article, Europe and India (with Russia as the principal vendor) sent 60,000,000 rubles' worth of goods in 1902, and 87,000,000 rubles' worth in 1907. At the same time foreign capital came for investment, far

higher interest being earned in Persia than in Europe, and Russian and English banks were opened throughout the land. The introduction of cheap machine-made products from abroad was a serious blow to local handicraft, and put an end altogether to the small home industries of the peasants. Meanwhile the opportunities for enrichment through an increased output of raw materials did not escape enterprising landed proprietors and wholesale dealers, so that hides, fruits, wool, silk, rice, and tobacco were then produced on a large scale, the labor being supplied by the impoverished classes of workers aforesaid.

Thus economical development took place on the basis of a capitalistic system. To the great centers like Teheran, Tabriz, Shiraz, Isphahan, numbers of financiers, "promoters," merchants, clerks, and mechanics were attracted. The new commercial era extinguished the prevailing provincial organization. Persia's provinces were at one time economically quite independent of one another, and had separate laws and customs. Even the coinage, weights, and measures would differ. Every khan ruled supreme in his own province. But the influential commercial middle class that arose demanded liberation from these impediments to business and the creation of a strong legislative and administrative central authority for the whole nation. In 1879, for instance, the government forbade the khans to coin money, that function thereafter devolving upon the royal mint at Teheran.

With the new political centralization, the article goes on to explain, the feudal lords forfeited their predominance. The government, however, tried to make good this loss of power and importance on the part of the great nobles by conferring offices upon them, regardless of their ability or integrity.

In their hands lay the revenue-raising functions, which they fulfilled in the same manner as the tyrannous grandes of French fame—i. e., by farming out the taxes. The collection of customs, excise, postal, and telegraph dues, and of all classes of taxation, was let to the highest bidders, and the men who secured these contracts became virtual autocrats, fixing the rates as they chose and squeezing the people as dry as they could. Among the high officials of the crown a more complex and costly style of living accompanied the influx of Western wares and ideas, the court waxed more extravagant, and many of the lesser nobility mortgaged or sold their estates to speculative financiers. Besides, large sums were spent on reorganizing the army. The Grand Vizier, the ministers, the governors of provinces, and the heads of districts bought their posts from the government, and extorted from the people tenfold, a hundredfold, what they had paid. The assistants of the ministers and governors received no salaries from their superiors, but had to live on what they could get out of the populace. Neither did the police receive any governmental pay. They subsisted on gratuities from individuals and on fines imposed. The peasants were not only compelled to satisfy the oppressive tax-farmers, they were obliged to give annual tribute to the landlords, and to their parasitic underlings, in the form of animals and produce, and had to make presents to their masters if they wanted to marry. Still worse was the state of justice. A governor—acting in a judicial as well as administrative capacity—would simply declare those guilty who could not come up to his price. The holders of political power allied themselves with the landed proprietors in the most outrageous transactions for the despoilment of urban consumers. They formed syndicates, drove up the prices of grain, and so created artificial famines. The same thing was done with other food staples. . . . While the working classes were thus hardly able to eke out an existence, and deteriorated physically and morally, the members of these starvation societies increased their ownership of land areas, yes, of whole villages. Sillih Sultan, for instance, the ex-governor-general of the province of Ispahan—now living in exile—owned 1200 villages.

The result of the activities of the "starvation societies" was an epidemic of riots, in which hunger-stricken multitudes, says the author, pillaged and destroyed storehouses and granaries. This happened about the end of the century, when the new Shah, Muzaffar-eddin, raised a large national loan in Russia, and then a second.

The millions that the Shah secured this time he squandered in Europe himself, or as much as did not vanish into the pockets of his ministers and favorites.

Depending so much on foreign capital, the

rulers of Persia made the path of the alien financier as smooth as possible, paving it for him with valuable concessions and monopolies. This of course incensed the native business men against both the foreign capitalists and their own government.

But there are now Persian bankers richer than the foreign; they compete successfully with their English and Russian preceptors, and if the foreign capitalists still make lots of money in Persia they owe that to having been able to establish themselves so firmly under the old autocratic system.

PART PLAYED BY THE CLERGY

The position of the clergy is described as follows by the author, himself evidently not one of the "faithful" and quite as evidently a partisan, though a clear-headed partisan, of the revolution:

With the growth of commercial connections with Europe, and the extending of personal relations between Persian traders and members of European society, Western culture penetrated into Persia. If the merchants of the country did not dislike that culture, whose introduction was closely associated with their historical mission, if the government, as slaves to foreign capital, unresistingly opened the land to this culture, the priesthood was, however, the constant foe of everything coming out of the West. The Persian clerisy, in whose hands lay public education, did their utmost to maintain believing Moslems in the old traditions and convictions of dogma upon which rested the advantages of their immemorial influence. They opposed European culture, seeing in it one of the strongest factors threatening their situation. The power of the priesthood increased especially in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. At that time it was so great as to form a sort of second government and vie with the real government. The power of the clergy augmented in the same measure as their possessions. . . . Instead of distributing their surplus revenues—derived mainly from landed endowments and from the legacies of true believers—as alms among the poor and needy, they began to entertain armed bands composed of theological students, who defended their interests. . . . At the same time some of the higher prelates went so far as to join the associations existing for the purpose of raising the food-prices. . . . The church had become so mighty that it could upset ordinances of the state in a twinkling; in the degree that its political and economical ascendancy went on magnifying, so did its scope of legal jurisdiction. Officialdom had found a profitable source of income in the regular courts, whereas now the people were crowding the ecclesiastical courts. In the conflict which ensued between the government and the church, the latter was forced to retreat step by step. . . . Owing to the expansion of trade

every one became anxious to learn foreign languages, especially the intellectuals and the new generation. Soon freshly organized common schools were opened, in which young Persians for the first time learned modern languages, history, geography, and scientific subjects unburdened with the tiresome, mind-numbing dogma of the Koran.

A WOMAN'S VIEW OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

IN the recent discussion of woman suffrage in this country the objections to the proposition that have been urged by women have been, perhaps, quite as numerous as, and in many instances more forcible than, the objections urged by men. In beginning an article on the subject in the *Atlantic Monthly* for September, Miss Molly Elliot Seawell deplores the "superficial and inadequate manner in which the matter has been discussed on both sides." She complains that the suffragists show in their spoken and published utterances that they have little knowledge of the fundamentals of government or the real meaning of suffrage. In their treatment of the subject they hopelessly confuse political, philanthropic, socialistic, and economic questions, nor do they seem able to discern between objects of national and those of State and municipal regulation.

On the other hand, this writer admits that the objectors to woman suffrage have not always given logical or practical reasons against it. Both sides make the mistake of assuming that the revolution will be over when a woman can walk up to the polling booth and deposit a ballot in the box. It is at this point, however, according to Miss Seawell, that the revolution will begin. The experience of full suffrage for women, as it has been tried in the States of Colorado, Idaho, Wyoming, and Utah, has not been entirely successful, and during the last fourteen years the States of the West, where a nearer view of suffrage was possible, have repeatedly defeated suffrage amendments to their constitutions.

A brilliant and prominent advocate of woman suffrage recently gave the following as its chief objects: "Women suffragists stand for sanitation, education, and the uplift of six million workingwomen in the United States."

Miss Seawell proceeds to analyze this formula:

First, is the universal fallacy on the part of the suffragists that all women will vote alike, and will vote right.

Second: neither sanitation nor education can be the first or even the most important object of government. Good laws well administered, a pure and competent judiciary, internal order, national defense, and many other things, must take precedence of sanitation and education. Neither sani-

tation nor popular education was known to the founders of the Republic; yet these founders added more to the forces of civilization than any group of sanitarians or educators that ever lived.

Third: neither sanitation nor education is a national affair, but both are the business of states and municipalities.

Fourth: sanitation and education are already well attended to by men, and as large a share of the public income is devoted to them as the people will bear.

Fifth: the proposition that one-half the electorate of the country shall devote its energies to the uplifting of six million workingwomen in the United States is a bald proposition to create a privileged class. This is a thing abhorrent to republican institutions, and is the line of demarcation between republics and monarchies. There is not, and never can be, a line on any statute book in the United States, regulating work and wages between private individuals. Any proposition to that effect is socialism run mad. There is a socialistic association, highly favored by suffragists, to bring about that no shop-girl shall work for less than four dollars a week. It is only just to the well-meaning but ill-informed women who have gone into this movement, to say that their unfamiliarity with governmental problems is the reason that such a grotesque association exists. The innocent blunders of equally well-meaning and ill-informed suffragists in New York City have involved them in violations of law, and several of their leaders were indicted in June, 1910, for boycotting and conspiracy.

Suffrage is neither a philanthropic scheme nor an economic measure, but a registering machine. The stock argument of the suffragists has ever been, that the suffrage would enable a woman to get the same pay for the same work as a man. What they probably mean by this is, that a woman working the same number of hours at the same employment as a man should receive the same pay. But it has been tested, and needs no test, that the work of women for the same time at the same employment as men is not so good in quality or quantity, and for obvious reasons. A woman cannot stand physical effort and nervous strain as a man can; nine hundred and ninety-nine women out of every thousand go into work with the fixed intention of abandoning it at the first possible moment; a woman at the period of her greatest energy is liable at any moment to make a contract of marriage, which vitiates other contracts; and women are less amenable to discipline than men.

Suffrage would not increase the physical strength of women; it would not keep them at work if they had a good opportunity to escape from it; it would not prevent them from marrying if they wished to; and it would not make them any more amenable to discipline. Suffrage will not enlarge the scope of women's employments. It will not enable them to climb telegraph poles, or to construct battle-ship, or to build sky-scrappers. It will have no effect upon either their work or their wages, work and wages being entirely controlled by the law of supply and demand.



FINANCE AND BUSINESS

NOTES ON APPLIED ECONOMICS OF THE MONTH

Twenty Thousand Dollars Saved Week By Week

A PHILADELPHIA physician wrote the financial department of this magazine last month in search of suitable investment for twenty thousand dollars, coming due September 1st "from building and loan stock."

A reply was immediately sent, asking in turn whether the twenty thousand dollars had been a legacy, or something like that, which had been invested outright in the stock, or whether it had been bought on installments.

The physician's second letter was remarkable. It appeared that twelve years ago he had definitely started to save. He picked out four of the mutual "building and loan" associations, for which the State of Pennsylvania is famous. One of these held its meeting the first week of the month, and the others on the second, third and fourth weeks respectively. Thus, on each of forty-eight weeks in the year, the doctor was called upon for twenty-five dollars—one dollar per share of each of the twenty-five shares allotted to him.

The psychology of this affair is its interesting side. Without those weekly demands—"Please remit installment on your stock"—the doctor, or perhaps his wife, would have found an excellent and entirely justifiable use for many, probably most, of those twenty-five dollar sums. Any reader may demonstrate such mental suggestion on himself—or herself.

Or there are other forms of sound securities, also based on real estate, such as guaranteed mortgages, now being offered on the plan of regular installments contracted for in advance. And whether the amount is to be ten dollars a month or a hundred, as in the doctor's case, 99 per cent. of the distance has been traveled with the signing of the definite contract.

The Temptation To Buy Stocks

A GAIN "Wall Street" is news. Through the general abuse of that queer locality, the harassed politician diverts the voters' attention from embarrassing local issues, and the

publisher of the sensational newspaper or cheap magazine shocks the public into buying his wares.

These "Notes" have frequently pointed out the dangerous power that the bungled banking act of this nation practically forces upon any money dealer on a large scale. In January, "The Control of Billions" was found to reside with a group of entirely private individuals in New York City—although any other nation deems such extensive control a public matter, and provides that the people's representatives shall have it.

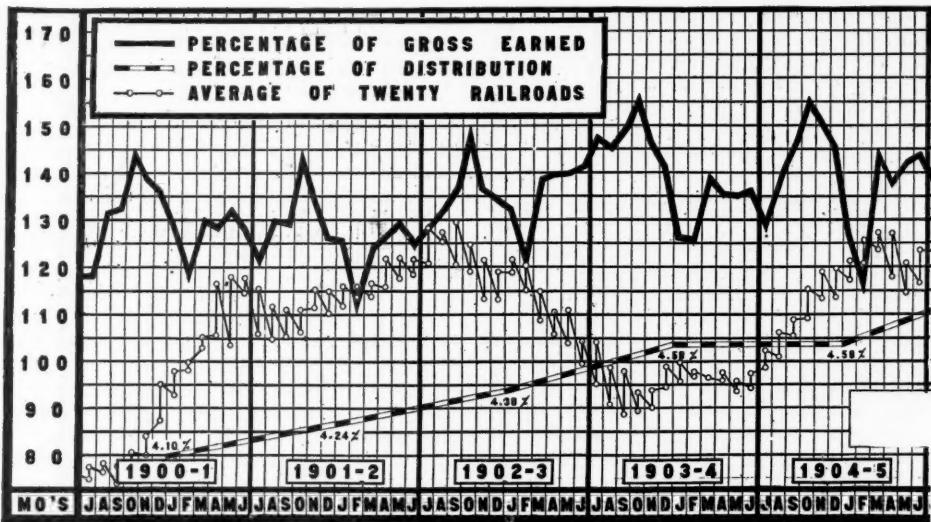
Curiously enough, it was not a muck-raker, but one of the most inveterate defenders of high finance, which printed on the 15th of last month three sentences throwing the keenest "human interest" into New York Stock Exchange affairs, and "exposing" most frankly the chief evil that has grown up around that investment market.

"The temptation to take on stocks," the first sentence explained, is always present when bankers find their vaults full of idle money and so are willing to loan that money at low rates on "call"—from day to day.

In this way, "*money previously withdrawn from investment or other business*" is borrowed by speculators in order to buy five or ten times the amount of stocks they could otherwise pay for; because "the income yield on all standard stocks at current prices is much greater than the interest charge on the money required to carry the stocks." Wherefore, the third sentence concludes, "it is reasonable to expect that the buying movement will increase in the near future."

"That is perfectly good economics," your Wall Street friend will say. "When stocks and bonds sell so low that they yield more than money, people will exchange their money for stocks and bonds."

"Not at all," the reformer will thunder. "It is nothing less than a crime that speculators may borrow, if they wish, hundreds of millions of dollars to 'carry' stocks, knowing that they can keep the money locked up, even when legitimate business men again want it, by paying higher than the legal rate of interest—since the New York Legislature has re-



By courtesy of the *Wall Street Journal*

THE STOCK EXCHANGE AS "A BAROMETER OF BUSINESS"

(Now that the defects of Wall Street conduct, of our currency system, and of American financial affairs generally are under discussion, it is in order to examine any records that show to what extent the Stock Exchange has fulfilled its legitimate functions—to register, by the prices of stocks, advance information of the broad changes in the country's earning power. The chart above, compiled by the *Wall Street Journal*, compares the gross earnings, the dividends distributed, and the prices of the stocks of American railroads. Since railroad earnings fluctuate according to the volume of production of farmers and manufacturers, they form the best single index to the state of industry.)

moved the restrictions of the usury law from loans on collateral."

In between the vacuum of theory on one side, and the violent personalities of the other, there is room to look for the practical underlying cause. After observing some hundreds of "Wall Street" men at work, more or less intimately, one finds them pretty much like other Americans at work—inclined to stand up for their own associates and their own system, rather than to analyze either very profoundly.

The observer might ask, for instance: "Why is money allowed to lie around 'idle' at all?"

How Natural Currency Works

YOU can find natural currency, the kind that fluctuates with the demand, at work in Belgium or Switzerland, or in Canada or Mexico; in fact, anywhere except in America.

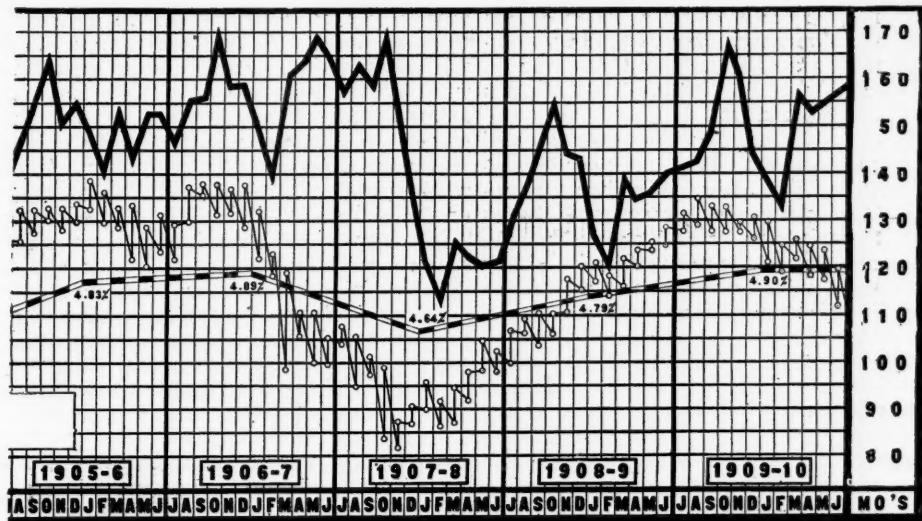
Take France. Any innkeeper or merchant or manufacturer can get cash from any bank where he has an account, in exchange for his own note bearing the signature of three persons known to be solvent. He gets the money direct from the Bank of France itself, or one of its branches, if that is where he keeps his account. If not, his bank in turn indorses the note and hands it over to the Bank of France

or one of its branches for "re-discount." This central institution alone may issue banknotes. About 70 per cent. of the commercial "paper" it holds in exchange for its notes has been thus passed on to it by independent banks. Following are the *regular rates* this bank has charged, during the last twelve years, for discounting paper received from other banks and for loans asked by its own direct customers:

	Loans	Discounts
1898—December 2	3.5	3.0
1899—December 7	4.0	3.5
December 21	5.0	4.5
1900—January 11	4.5	4.0
January 25	4.0	3.5
May 25	3.5	3.0
1907—January 17	4.0	3.0
March 21	4.0	3.5
November 7	4.5	4.0
1908—January 9	4.5	3.5
January 20	4.0	3.0
May 29	3.5	3.0

Think: at the height of the 1907 panic, anybody with three solvent friends to endorse his note could get currency for it at only $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Or if his account was with an independent bank, it could get the currency for him and make a profit out of all interest charged above 4 per cent.

This seems incredible. Many American borrowers will doubt even the official records



HOW PRICES OF STOCKS HAVE FORECASTED THE IMPORTANT INDUSTRIAL CHANGES

(The heavy black line shows the changes in gross earnings of twenty representative railroads. There is a regular "seasonal" change. Always October is the month of highest earnings, and February the lowest. Then there are the "big swings." It is striking to find by the lighter line underneath, representing the average prices of the stocks of those twenty railroads, that said prices have always forecasted such swings of earnings by several months. Thus, the sharp fall in earnings that began October, 1903, had been indicated since the January previous by the downward trend of stock prices. Exactly the same thing is true of 1907)

from which that table was taken, until they of France or any other up-to-date country, recall that in France money can never be and to common sense.

"idle" and can never be "scarce," because the currency is "natural." Read these recent questions asked by representatives of our Monetary Commission, and the answers given by the Governor of the Bank of France:

Q. Through what agencies do you feel a demand for increased note issue? Does it come from the banks or from your own customers?

A. As I told you a moment ago, it is the bills presented for discount and the requests for loans which regulate automatically the movements of issue.

Q. Does this demand for increase come more largely from the banks or from customers in general?

A. Both banks and other clients. The demands of the banks are particularly important, as they centralize the demands of their numerous clients.

Q. The fluctuations are more or less automatic? If there is an excess of notes, it is, I assume, soon taken care of by presentation for redemption?

A. *The mechanism is quite automatic.* When circumstances demand a reduction of issue the notes are naturally presented for redemption, and it seems to us that as long as this redemption is made without difficulty, *there can never be an excess of notes in circulation.*

Artificial Cash

LAST month any observer could figure how artificial and inflexible is our American currency system—how opposite to that

The great sum of \$55,000,000 was reported as "surplus" by the New York banks on the 13th: an amount equalled only twice—in 1904 and 1908—during many years past. The bankers had accumulated this cash by cutting down old loans and refusing new ones, in anticipation of the usual demand from Western and Southern banks, whose farmer-customers need money about this time to move their crops.

Likewise, since June, "country" bankers in the crop sections have been refusing loans for the purchase of automobiles or extra land; even merchants and manufacturers in many localities found it difficult to get money for reasonable extensions of their own businesses.

And in parts of the East, such banking "contraction" had made the negotiation of commercial paper almost impossible. Even in cases where nobody doubted the credit of the borrower, or the reliability of the indorsers, the money was refused—simply because the bankers feared there would not be money enough.

The merchants and manufacturers thus embarrassed cannot blame the farmers. Crops are the largest basis for trade. Nor can they blame the Stock Exchange. Its price-tags

were marked down nearly a billion dollars this year alone, signifying that several hundred million dollars, borrowed last year on "collateral," had been returned to the banks and other lenders.

In any other country, the larger crops of the farmer and the higher credit of the merchant increase the volume of cash automatically. But in ours—well, consult the figures for June this year, as compared with June, 1909, reported by the national banks. They had loaned out \$395,000,000 more. But the cash in their vaults was actually \$66,000,000 less.

The reason: American currency is inflexible. It represents not the real industrial assets of the country, but the bonds of the Government, which are like the flowers that bloom in the spring—they have nothing to do with the legitimate needs of merchants and farmers and manufacturers for money.

Idle Money

INCREASED money supply was cited as one cause of American high prices, on the 16th of last month, in the minority report of the committee that had been investigating wages and prices for the United States Senate. How can this jibe with the facts reported above?

There was \$5 "circulation" per capita in 1800, little more than \$10 in 1840, and less than \$20 in 1880. Last year the figure was \$34.93. Perhaps this increase has been entirely justified by the rise in our scale of living—the spread of the piano players, enameled bathtubs and automobiles. But whether or no, it is entirely correct to state that the country is swamped with currency—whenever it is not needed. The reason is the same which makes it scarce during the periods of greatest demand.

In America, any group of men with resources enough to obtain a national bank charter and buy some Government bonds can issue bank-notes to the face value of those bonds. There are 7000 such groups to-day, fighting one another for business. When trade and commerce do not call for money (as in 1908), the banks are full of it. They press it upon borrowers at lower and lower rates. Speculators are happy. Soon the high prices brought about by speculation have dazzled real business men into feeling more prosperous than they are (as in 1909). They extend. They borrow. They offer their notes—perfectly good notes, indorsed with perfectly good names. But real assets won't have sprung into world factors financially,

answer as a basis for currency in America. You must have Government bonds. So when everybody wants currency—as last year, and until quite recently—it gets scarcer. Interest rates go up. The weak speculators who can't pay them go down—as this year—dragging others with them. The whole "market" in food products, or farms, or stocks drops. This unlocks a lot of cash.

Yet men of enterprise sometimes cannot find encouragement to go ahead on a big scale—as now. There are Supreme Court decisions coming that may change the whole machinery of business. Large purchasers of materials don't know what freight rates may be until the Commerce Commission can hear the evidence. Wise bankers are tight with their money, foreseeing demands for crop moving. Yet, interest rates being low, there is "the temptation to take on stocks."

Bonds Go Begging

WHEN capitalists dislike to tie up the money they control for three or six months, they naturally are even less inclined to put it into long term bonds. Any bond man is an authority on the dullness of the professional demand for his wares. The big banks and financial institutions don't want them. Little more than half as many bonds have been sold on the Stock Exchange as last year. Private investors are taking advantage of this situation, which involves much lower prices for bonds just as good as they were eighteen months ago—better, on the average.

The disparity is phenomenal between the total of new securities *authorized* this year and the amount actually issued. This is, to a large extent, the difference between the money that active corporations would like and the money they can get. The figures, as compiled by the *Journal of Commerce* for the first six months of 1910, show that \$804,523,710 of new stocks, bonds and notes were authorized, but not entirely distributed. The total authorizations were \$1,921,506,660, as against \$1,648,156,240 for the same period last year.

Neither is Europe in a position to finance us as in former years. New countries the world over have been asking for new securities in amounts unprecedented. Canada, for instance, with its enormous recent industrial consolidations, is employing loans and advances considerably greater in amount than ever before in its history. Then Java and Sumatra and the Straits Settlements

through the sudden growth of their rubber plantations. These big pieces of financing have come back to London. Likewise, of the \$730,000,000 raised in France last year on securities, some 63 per cent. went to foreign countries.

It is to London, Paris and Berlin that colonies of the Powers look for capital. The same is true of South America. Foreign business for Continental and London bankers is booming, where a few years ago was stagnation. The United States can look forward to financing itself. It would seem that all these factors and more had been anticipated by the low prices of many representative and sound bonds in America.

Cotton, the King of Exports

IT will surprise some folks who believe in the protective tariff, but who are not fond of figures, to learn that there would be no trade balance with Europe in our favor at all if it were not for the humble cotton boll.

Housekeepers pay higher for meat and milk and chickens if the corn crop fails; or if it is wheat, the loaf of bread costs more—or grows less. With the cotton crop, however, attention shifts to the foreigner. In 1900 our domestic cotton exports exceeded \$300,000,000, in 1906 \$400,000,000, and in the year ended last June \$450,000,000—nearly ten times the value of the wheat exported, and eighteen times that of corn.

Indeed, without exports of cotton America would show this year, instead of a \$187,000,000 credit against Europe, a debt to it of \$233,000,000. Since our credit should be more than twice what it actually was, in order to pay off our standing obligations of bonds and stocks owned by Europeans, and to supply the expenses of American tourists abroad, of money orders sent and carried home by immigrants, and the like—the fluctuations of the cotton crop are most serious to us and other nations.

Figures for the 119 years ending last year were gathered by the Southern Commercial Congress. They show total exports from this country of almost 48 billion dollars, but a trade balance in our favor of less than $6\frac{1}{2}$ billion dollars—not half the value of the raw cotton exported during that period—\$13,598,353,086. This, remember, does not include any cotton sent abroad in manufactured form.

Perhaps this year's crop will run to 12 million bales. Of these we should export two thirds. If prices keep up, this would

mean a credit item for the United States of more than half a billion dollars.

The Tax That Isn't Paid

THE devil must love a law unenforced. No private immorality could ruin a fraction as much of character and conduct as the absurd statutes in most States regarding the taxation of personal property.

Last month Chicago felt a shock when the Illinois Tax Reform League filed a statement alleging that 70 citizens of Cook County had concealed from assessment their ownership of stocks in corporations not chartered by Illinois with a face value of two hundred million dollars.

Now for the reverse side. A widow in New York State had been left an income yielding \$2400 a year. The estate appeared as a matter of record. She could not dodge the tax. She paid \$1380. Balance for living expenses for herself and family, \$1020. "It is the testimony of experience that a tax on intangible property tends to inequality in taxation instead of fairness, and those who are especially intended to be taxed are the ones who escape." The quotation is from a report to Congress this year of a tax commission for the District of Columbia. Then the Ohio Commission appointed by Governor McKinley in 1893 pronounced the general personal property clause "A school of perjury." "Worst of all, it imposes unjust burdens upon various classes in the community."

Any reasonable man can aid the campaigns of tax reform associations for a law that will be obeyed by one and all. One may believe with Henry George that the "single tax" on land alone is the final end. Or one may have faith in an inheritance tax, graduated so as to weigh more heavily as estates rise to the luxury class.

Mayor Gaynor, by suggesting the abolition of this tax in New York City, attracted national attention. "Most of the newspaper comment has been favorable to the suggestion," writes the editor of the *Journal of Accountancy*, published in New York, "and all of the discussions have indicated general dissatisfaction with the personal property tax." The July number of that magazine contains a symposium on this subject by competent accountants and active tax reformers, of interest to every property-owning citizen who wants to be honest, but objects to the payment of taxes which he sees brazenly evaded by men far better able to meet them than himself.

When the evil is understood by individual voters, there no longer will be such spectacles as that of one Tuesday not long ago, when at the office of the Tax Commissioner at New York City there appeared no less than six hundred men and women. It was just one of the days for "swearing off."

New Inventions Poor Investments

TWO lawsuits in progress last month illustrated rather spectacularly the good old principle that a new invention is a poor investment. Dramatic emphasis is laid by the prominence and wealth of the investors. They were, by no means, the citizens of quiet life in secluded and remote districts—the kind who send letters to this magazine every week, inquiring about stocks in 'some new telegraph or mono-railroad or other patented device which invariably, according to the promoters, "will make fortunes like the Bell Telephone."

No indeed. A Newport house and an exclusive New York club were mentioned in last month's complaints as the spots whereon the investors were induced to part with \$35,000 and \$5000 respectively, for stocks which they now declare to be worthless.

If the widow of a most eminent professional man and a well-to-do descendant of a Revolutionary hero can find it difficult to learn the facts about a "new invention" company in time—what chance has the average citizen, tied down by business or home duties, hundreds or thousands of miles distant from the enterprise?

Of course, what attracted these wealthy investors is what attracts those of moderate means—the promise of enormous or unusual profits. Such promises, in *every single one* of the hundreds of cases that have come to the notice of this magazine during the past couple of years, have spelled loss to the investors. Most inventions of real promise are financed in private—which is as it should be, with such high risks inevitable.

Meanwhile, the real investments, the 5 and 6 per cent. bonds and stocks, keep on their sober way. They paid more than a billion dollars last year in interest and dividends to those prudent investors who seldom buy new things, and never buy anything from new people. They stick to established bankers

who have been selling the same kind of securities at the same place for many years.

Stocks That Suit the Case

PEOPLE used to write this magazine wondering why the financial department, in its lists of stocks printed so often, two years ago, when prices were even lower than now, mentioned the *second* preferred stock of the Reading Railroad instead of the first. Would not the first naturally be safer?

The reason lies in a little clause, unnoticed by many investors, in the agreement of the Reading Company regarding this stock. The Company reserves for itself the right of converting the second preferred stock, one-half into first preferred and one-half into common stock, at face value. Now the common is already receiving 6 per cent. against the 4 per cent. to which the two classes of preferred are limited. Here is a valuable potentiality. Wherefore, those who bought "Reading second" in 1908, at eighty-odd dollars a share, had chances to sell it in 1909 as high as \$117.50 and as high as \$110.50 this year. Meanwhile the first preferred, as a 4 per cent. stock with no "potentialities," has very logically fluctuated between 89 and 96.

Knowledge of these hidden causes is often valuable in selecting just the kind of stock that will suit a particular investor. The elaborate monograph, "Stocks and the Stock Market," recently published by The American Academy of Political and Social Science, in Philadelphia, holds much information on this subject—valuable particularly now that stocks are in the public eye.

Or take the obscure matter of taxation. In every State there are certain companies whose stock is not taxed to the individual holders of it residing in that State. Usually the stock is one of a "domestic corporation," one whose place of business is within the State in question. There are many exceptions. In New York and New Jersey, for instance, there are numerous decisions under which stocks of many "foreign" corporations are also untaxed to the individual holder.

Any banker who knows his business and has been at it for a number of years can supply a list of "stocks to suit," prepared with reference to fine points like the above—which frequently make a very real difference.



GENERAL WEYLER'S OWN STORY¹

GENERAL WEYLER has written a book which bids fair to create a sensation in this country as well as in Spain; we knew what Spain, what Cuba, what the United States thought of Weyler; now he gives us his side of the case. The most dispassionate reader cannot but come to the conclusion that this book confirms the worst charges that have been preferred against Cuba's former Governor. Moreover, and this is of special interest to Americans, the pictures he gives us of the conditions which obtained in the ill-fated island during the last years of the Spanish rule are so blood-curdling, that even the most rabid critics of America's intervention will be silenced.

When Weyler was sent to Cuba to replace Martinez Campos the island was virtually lost to Spain. While the Spanish Government affirmed to the press and the nation that the war was practically over, Martinez Campos was sending to Premier Canovas confidential notes in which he confessed himself hopelessly beaten.

Weyler states that when he landed in Cuba he did not even suspect the real state of affairs. "I did not know anything besides what the Minister of War had told me and what I had read in the papers or in anonymous letters sent by Spaniards living in Cuba, and I thought that all of them exaggerated the facts; I had no knowledge of all the secret documents I have appended to this book."

What the real facts were is set forth in the following letter from General Martinez Campos to Canovas del Castillo, Prime Minister, now made public for the first time.

From the beginning I realized the gravity of the situation,—what I saw during my visits in Cuba, Principe, and Holguin appalled me. However, in order not to appear too pessimistic, I did not express my opinions, and I decided to visit not only the maritime communities but the towns in the interior: the few Spaniards who still live in Cuba hardly dare to mention their origin except in the cities; the bulk of the

population hates Spain; wherever you pass a farm and ask the women where their husbands are they answer with terrifying frankness: 'In the mountains with Chief So-and-So.'

"You could not get a man to carry a message if you gave him 500 or 1000 pesetas; he would be hanged if he were ever caught by the insurgents. . . . I might concentrate the peasants' families in the villages, but it would take too many men to protect them; and in the interior it is most difficult to secure volunteers; and then it would mean misery and starvation; I would have to give those people daily rations; during the last war I gave as many as 40,000 every day. . . . But that would not prevent women and children from acting as spies.

"I think Weyler is the only man who could cope with the situation, for he possesses intelligence, courage, and a deep knowledge of warfare; therefore, my dear friend, think it over, and if you prefer this system don't hesitate to recall me; we are deciding Spain's fate, but I have convictions which forbid me to countenance executions and other acts of the same order."

The Spanish Government knew very well then what Weyler's presence at the head of the Cuban army would mean. Terrible measures of repression had to be adopted if the Spanish rule was to prevail in the colony.

"The insurgents," he writes, "did not return in any way the considerate treatment accorded to them by this generous commander (Martinez Campos). At the beginning of the war Maximo Gomez fought fair; but Maceo, as I shall prove by authentic documents, ordered his bands to set fire to all the sugar mills whose owners were not paying war tribute, to plunder and loot the country, to shoot mercilessly all the messengers, and those caught repairing railroad lines or bringing provisions into the villages. Worse yet—the insur-



GENERAL WEYLER, SPAIN'S FORMER COMMANDER IN CUBA

¹ *Mi Mando en Cuba*, Vol. I. By General Weyler. Madrid: Felipe Gonzalez Rojas. 496 pp., 2 maps and 4 portraits \$2.50.

gent chiefs did not hesitate to kill with their own weapons defenseless islanders, and Maximo Gomez in his 'Memoires' confesses to having shot personally a man he had sentenced to death, a deed which I call murder pure and simple. And still that individual presumes to call me assassin."

The following proclamation sent by Macco, Gomez' lieutenant, to his bands, fully confirms Weyler's charges:

"Comrades at arms; destroy, destroy everything day and night; to blow up bridges, to derail trains, to burn up villages and sugar mills, in a word, to annihilate Cuba is the only way to defeat our enemies. . . . The main thing is to convince Spain that Cuba will be but a heap of ruins.

. . . We must burn and raze everything. It would be folly to fight as a European army would. Where rifles are of no avail, let dynamite do the work."

It is interesting to compare this proclamation with a circular General Weyler sent to all his subordinates: "The determination and harshness displayed by the insurgents must be imitated by us in our conduct towards them."

Read also his proclamation to the Cuban population:

"I need not to tell you, for you know it already, that whatever clemency I may show towards my defeated enemies, or those who lend their aid to the Spanish cause, I will display all the determination and energy which characterize me in visiting the extreme penalties of the law on those who assist the enemy in any manner or try to revile our name."

After that Weyler may well explain to us that . . . The charges of cruelty made against me originated during the preceding Cuban campaign. I was at the head of a light column which moved at a very quick pace over its zone of operations, capturing therefore more prisoners than the other columns. Those prisoners were executed according to the laws of war."

About the concentration camps Weyler has this to say: "Of all the measures I ever took, the most bitterly criticised was 'Concentration,' which saved my troops from being uselessly decimated. . . . I need not defend that system; whoever is familiar with the history of modern wars knows that it was adopted by the English in the Transvaal and by the Americans in the Philippines, a fact most flattering to my pride. If individuals were sometimes summarily executed, as it happens in every war, they were put to death in obedience to the laws and regulations, never for the mere reason that they were insurgents." However sparing of details the General may be touching the concentration system, he does not hesitate to tell us that "the insurgents' wives and children were obliged to go wherever the head of the family was supposed to be," an insignificant-looking statement which, however, can excuse the most terrible atrocities on the part of the regulars.

As to his reasons for bringing out the work at this time, he says:

"I wrote the book to make the truth known about my conduct as general-in-chief, a conduct commended not only by army officers, who sent me many personal letters, but by privates, who, after returning to Spain, spoke of me with an enthusiasm for which I can hardly express my gratitude. Various reasons deterred me from attempt-

ing years ago (when my mind could not have freed itself of a certain bias) a task which I can now perform with perfect equanimity, thanks to the time which has elapsed, soothing the irritation due to the injustice which I suffered at the hands of certain men. I must add that I did not wish to aggrieve Señor Sagasta by telling anew the story of our disasters; neither did I wish to censure the illustrious General Martinez Campos, my predecessor in Cuba, although he did not treat me too charitably upon his return to Madrid."

We suspect Weyler's reasons of being slightly different. The worthy general has not abdicated all political ambitions. He now holds the important and profitable position of Captain General of Catalonia. When the Moret cabinet fell, however, both Señor Moret and Señor Maura, a strange combination of political nuances, advised King Alfonso to make General Weyler Prime Minister. The proposition was too ridiculous to be entertained for a minute, but it is a question whether Weyler has forgiven Canalejas for accepting the post he had for a while considered as within his own reach. His bitterness against the liberals and radicals would show that his "perfect equanimity" is referred to principally for the sake of rounding off a paragraph harmoniously. For Canalejas belonged to that section of Parliament which passed rather harsh judgments on the peculiar system of warfare applied in Cuba under Weyler's generalship.

"Relieved of my command as Governor and Captain General of the Island of Cuba when Señor Sagasta, the liberal leader, was asked to constitute a cabinet, I left my post, to the sorrow of the faithful patriots who shared my belief that the end of the war was near, and who approved unreservedly of my military tactics, which they considered as the only ones likely to bring about the much desired consummation. On my return to the Peninsula I was acclaimed with the most ardent enthusiasm; on the other hand, I was censured by certain members of the liberal party and persecuted by a government weak enough to listen to the most absurd fabrications relative to my activity in Cuba. The government actually demanded explanations from me when the ship that carried me had hardly reached its moorings at La Coruña, through the Captain General of the province, who came on board without even knowing what questions to ask me. . . . The liberal party at that time was in need of a platform, and it harped on 'Cuban autonomy' in order to make my recall imperative."

This book makes rather heavy reading; it is regrettably loose in its composition, and the author might, at times, have used more elegant Spanish. But even if the General were a better stylist he would not rely upon literary embellishments to conceal his thoughts; he has the merit of being frank—brutally so.

We may mention that the publishers have very cleverly (or very stupidly) printed the title and the author's name in blood-red type on a cover page of livid gray.

A second volume is announced, but the first half of the present volume contains all the vital part of the work, that is, General Weyler's comments and the documents (some of them of a confidential nature) which he produces in support of his contentions.

THE NEW BOOKS

BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

THE authorized biography of Daniel C. Gilman, by Fabian Franklin,¹ is the record of one of the most fruitful careers in the annals of American education. More than that, it is the story of a university enterprise that has had no parallel in our history or in the world's history. Johns Hopkins University and its first president cannot be dissociated. How it came about that in 1875 the trustees of the new foundation at Baltimore, in casting about for an executive head, were led to choose the one man in the country who was fitted by training, temperament, and knowledge to guide their venture to success may never be fully understood, but the fact that they did make this propitious choice will ever be a cause of rejoicing among all friends of higher learning in this and other lands. Mr. Franklin, who is now one of the editors of the *New York Evening Post*, was a fellow and professor at the Hopkins in the early years. He was himself a part of that never-to-be-forgotten era of academic enthusiasm and zeal, when a band of gifted teachers and students, meeting in humble and plainly-appointed lecture-rooms and laboratories, made of Baltimore the very Mecca of American scholarship. It is made very clear in this volume that Mr. Gilman would never have been sought for the epoch-marking work at Johns Hopkins if he had not already scored a brilliant success as an educator. First in the founding and successful administration of the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale, and later as president of the University of California, at a particularly critical period in the fortunes of that institution, he had shown his unusual capacity as an educational organizer. The Johns Hopkins trustees consulted four of the most eminent university presidents in the country in seeking a man to head their new institution and the man whom each of the four in turn, quite independently of the others, named for the position was Daniel C. Gilman. His administration covered the first quarter-century of the University's life, and it is the general testimony of those most competent to judge that no university president ever succeeded more completely in attracting and retaining for his institution the loyal service of unselfish scholarship. Mr. Gilman's activities at Baltimore became the means not only of building up Johns Hopkins, but of infusing a wholly new spirit and purpose in all the universities of the country. As a result, Johns Hopkins has had many imitators and to-day a dozen American schools equipped with departments doing graduate work are in generous competition with this vigorous pioneer. Many of them have better material equipment, but not one of these foundations, either State or private, will ever attract a more zealous group of scholars than that which Gilman drew around him in the '70's at Baltimore. Gildersleeve, Remsen, Rowland, Sylvester, Martin—these names and others soon made the name of Johns Hopkins known around the world, and to him who sought and obtained the hearty co-operation of such men in the most dignified educational enterprise that America had ever known this biography pays a well-deserved tribute of respect.

¹ The Life of Daniel Coit Gilman. By Fabian Franklin. Dodd, Mead & Co. 446 pp., por. \$3.50.

The record of a stormy life is the way Helene von Racowitza, princess-actress, herself describes her autobiography² which has recently been translated into English from the original German. Princess von Racowitza was for most of the years of her girlhood a prominent figure in the dramatic, artistic, and social life of Berlin. She came to New York in 1877 and then made a tour throughout the United States. Her book is full of reminiscence and anecdotes about famous people on two continents. Many of these deal with Ferdinand Lassalle, the famous Socialist leader, with whom she had the supreme love affair of her life.

A few noteworthy works of history, chiefly text-books, have appeared during the dull summer season. "Europe Since 1815," by Charles Downer Hazen, Professor of History in Smith College,³ is one of the "American Historical Series" edited by Dr. Charles H. Haskins (History, Harvard). Its purpose is to present European history since the downfall of Napoleon as viewed from the modern standpoint. There are fourteen excellent colored maps. Dr. S. E. Forman, author of "Advanced Civics" and other text-books of a high order, has just brought out a new school history of the United States.⁴ This work, which is copiously illustrated, is the "story of the westward movement." An Englishman, Dr. John Formby, has prepared a scholarly though condensed history of the American Civil War,⁵ "because it unquestionably contains many lessons for the mother nation of England." There is a separate volume of maps. "A Bibliography of History" designed for schools and libraries has been compiled with descriptive and critical annotations by Dr. Charles M. Andrews (History, Johns Hopkins), Mr. J. Montgomery Gambrill, and Mrs. Lida Lee Tall.⁶

A very useful editing of the famous Plutarch's "Lives" has been brought out by F. J. Gould, in two volumes, with simple, helpful illustrations.⁷ There are two smallish volumes, divided into "Tales of the Greeks" and "Tales of the Romans" and both entitled "The Children's Plutarch." The work is designed especially for children of ten to fourteen years of age. There is an appreciative introduction by Mr. W. D. Howells.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Two new books on American political institutions remind us that there is a new generation to be schooled in the principles of government, and that new methods and new text-books are demanded in this as well as in the so-called exact sciences. Prof. Charles A. Beard, of Columbia University, has adapted his excellent manual⁸ to the needs of college students and citizens wishing a general survey

² Helene von Racowitza: An Autobiography. Macmillan. 421 pp., por. \$3.50

³ Europe Since 1815. By Charles Downer Hazen. Holt. 830 pp., ill. \$3.

⁴ A History of the United States. By S. E. Forman. Century Company. 490 pp., ill. \$1.

⁵ The American Civil War. By John Formby. Scribner's. 520 pp., ill. \$4.50.

⁶ A Bibliography of History. Edited by Charles M. Andrews, J. Montgomery Gambrill, and Mrs. Lida Lee Tall. Longmans, Green & Co. 224 pp. 60 cents.

⁷ The Children's Plutarch. Arranged by F. J. Gould. Harper's. 2 vols. 338 pp., ill. \$1.50.

⁸ American Government and Politics. By Charles A. Beard. Macmillan. 772 pp. \$2.10.

of our political system. It may be used to advantage in conjunction with its companion work, "Readings in American Government and Politics."

The study of "Political Theory and Party Organization in the United States," by President Fess, of Antioch College,¹ although developed on the plan of a text-book, makes a strong appeal to the general reader and especially to the citizen of broad interests. The author gives due consideration to the personal element in our political history, explaining the representative character of the leading American statesmen in successive periods of our national growth.

City sanitation, a topic frequently made uninteresting by the very method of its presentation, is clarified and made actually attractive by Mr. Hollis Godfrey's little book, "The Health of the City,"² in which the author, an authority in the field of popular science, brings together the results of his studies on city air, water, wastes, food, housing, and noise. No progressive citizen of any modern municipality can help being interested in what Mr. Godfrey has to say concerning these important matters.

A SURVEY OF RECENT EVENTS

The seventh volume of Mr. J. N. Larned's excellent and useful "History for Ready Reference"³ covers the developments of the past ten years. The changes and transformations of the period,—industrial, social, and political,—are treated under appropriate headings. The rise of the so-called "trusts" in this and other countries and the measures taken by governments for their control and regulation are detailed from the most authoritative sources. The proceedings in the United States for the regulation of the railroads are also carefully reviewed. History has been making rapidly in the decade just closing, as we are reminded by the articles on the Russo-Japanese war, the establishment of the Cuban Republic, the separation of church and state in France, the revolutions in Turkey and Persia, and the beginnings of constitutional government in China.

FICTION

When the master novelist George Meredith died, he left one unfinished story. This, under the title "Celt and Saxon," has now been published, just as the author left it.⁴ The story turns on divergencies in character between the Irishman and the Anglo-Saxon. It is full of Meredith's flow of argument and description, of his happy "side allusions" and metaphors, and his sonorous, red-blooded phrasing. Some of the critics are saying that the manuscript of "Celt and Saxon" was written nearly forty years ago. Whether it was

¹ Political Theory and Party Organization in the United States. By Simeon D. Fess. Ginn & Co. 451 pp., ill. \$1.50.

² The Health of the City. By Hollis Godfrey. Houghton Mifflin Company. 372 pp. \$1.25.

³ History for Ready Reference, from the Best Historians, Biographers, and Specialists. By J. N. Larned. Volume VII (1901-10). Springfield, Mass. C. A. Nichols Company.

⁴ Celt and Saxon. By George Meredith. Scribner's. 266 pp. \$1.50.

laid aside for future retouching, or because its author was dissatisfied with it in general, is not known. But the tale as we have it is unmistakably Meredithian.

English critics are saying vigorous, appreciative things about Richard Dehan's novel of the Boer War, which he has called "One Braver Thing."⁵ Vivid and rugged often to the point of roughness, this story appeals to the fundamental emotions of the human heart whatever be its national name. Love, war, adventure, rude passions, and high purposes saturate almost every one of its 610 pages.

The works of that powerful English romance writer who was known for a decade as "Fiona MacLeod" (the late William Sharp) are now being published in a uniform edition, arranged and edited by Mrs. Sharp. There will be seven volumes, of which three have already appeared⁶ (two tales in each volume): "The Dominion of Dreams" and "Under the Dark Star"; "The Sin Eater" and "The Washer of the Ford"; and "Pharaïs" and "The Mountain Lovers."

There is a languorous, exotic charm about the collection of Oriental love stories by Margaret Mordecai, which have been grouped as "The Flower of Destiny."⁷ There are five tales, all but one founded on events and characters of Asiatic history.

A series of impressionistic sketches, chiefly of London life, with much of the vigor that characterizes Mr. Kipling's work without its occasional roughness, has been printed in a volume entitled "A Motley."⁸ The author is Mr. John Galsworthy, whose name is appearing with increasing frequency on the title pages of works of English fiction of note. There is a haunting literary quality and an insistent conviction of reality about these sketches which makes them unusual in their appeal.

A fascinating novel, with several thoroughly likable people for characters, is "The Fruit of Desire," by Virginia Demarest.⁹ This is evidently a nom de plume. The story recounts the experiences of a man and woman who take an unusual view of love and marriage. Each has been wrongfully accused of serious misdeeds and it is through their misfortunes that they first become acquainted. Circumstances throw them together in a very unusual way. They learn to regard each other with an exalted devotion that is very beautiful. Their ideas—which are evidently also the author's own—on love and the marriage relations are, however, based, we think, on a somewhat forced and distorted view of life and human ideals.

⁵ One Braver Thing. By Richard Dehan. Duffield & Co. 610 pp. \$1.40.

⁶ The Writings of Fiona MacLeod. Edited by Mrs. William Sharp. Duffield & Co. 3 vols. 425 pp., ill. \$1.50 each.

⁷ The Flower of Destiny. By Margaret Mordecai. Putnam. 339 pp. \$1.50.

⁸ A Motley. By John Galsworthy. Scribner's. 274 pp. \$1.20.

⁹ The Fruit of Desire. By Virginia Demarest. Harper's. 332 pp. \$1.20.

